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THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.* III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.†

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XIV. The Analysis of Gen. 37:2-41:57.‡§

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Joseph's dream; (2) Joseph sold into Egypt by his brethren; (Judah and Tamar;) (3) Joseph in Potiphar's house, and in jail; (4) the dreams of Pharaoh's baker and butler; (5) Pharaoh's dream; (6) the elevation of Joseph.]

A. The Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

37:2a [to בָּעַן or to יַעֲקֹב] (so Well., Kuen.; Del., all of 2; Kitt., 2a^x; K. and S., to שָׁנָה); 41:46 [perhaps also 47, 36, 50 ?] (all, K. and S. included, agree as to verse 46; but as to the others there is great difference of opinion||).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"These are the *toledoth* of Jacob [Joseph at seventeen was at home; but when standing before Pharaoh and taking charge of Egypt]—where two sons were born unto him (?)—he was thirty years old**]. . . ."

* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICISED BY Professors Harper (of Yale) and Green (of Princeton).

† The answer to certain criticisms made and certain positions taken by Professor Green in the *April* number, will be reserved until all the *historical* matter has been considered.

‡ This article is a continuation from the July HEBRAICA. Professor Green's reply will appear in the January (1890) HEBRAICA.

§ In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

|| The enumeration of the *generations* comes in 46:6-27, which *immediately* follow these verses.

¶ P does not tell us how Joseph came to Egypt.

** All the material of this section, except the first clause, is a parenthetical statement containing a few dates and facts about Joseph and Egypt, explanatory of future matter.

3. LANGUAGE OF P.

1) OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהֵי תְלֻדֹת (37:2).

4. STYLE OF P.

1) *Dates.* (1) "Seventeen years" (37:2). (2) "Thirty years old" (41:46).

5. MATERIAL OF P.

1) Strictly speaking, there being nothing but a prefatory remark to the enumeration of the "generations," much cannot be expected in the way of duplicates, etc.

2) That the first clause of 37:2 is out of connection with what follows, is clear to every reader: "These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock, etc." To say the least, this is obscure.

3) However, if the analysis is followed, this formula is brought sufficiently near to the actual enumeration of the generations given in ch. 46.

4) That P should omit to tell us how Joseph was taken down to Egypt, is quite natural; since, (1) the traditions of the other writers were well known, (2) it would require too much of the space which he reserves so tenaciously for statistics, (3) it would have compelled him to record many unpleasant facts about Jacob's family, a thing he is always loath to do.*

5) 41:46b is a mere repetition of 45b; while 46a would fit better after verses 37, 38, or 44, than after 45.

6) On the other hand, it might fall in well enough with 37:2a, especially if we take the וְ in וְיֹסֵף (41:46) as *waw adversative* (to which there can be no grammatical objection): "Joseph was seventeen years *when with his brethren*, etc.; BUT when standing before Pharaoh he was thirty years old."

6. THEOLOGY.

This material exhibits none.

B. The Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO J.

37:2b, 3 sq., 18b, 21, 23 and 24 partly, 25-27, 28 in part, 31 sq. partly, 33, 34 sq. in part [cf. E below] (Well., traces in 2b and 3 sq. (except אָבִי בְנִי... in verse 2 = *rather* R), 12-24 (except וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲנִי in 12b, and 13a† to דָּבָר, verse 18, 22 and parts of 23 sq.), 25 (except first clause = E), 26 sq., כִּסֵּף... וַיִּמְכְּרוּ in 28, 31-35 (except *parts* of 32, 34, 35 = E); so Kuen., practically, except 2b(= R) and 12-18; Del., 3 sq., 12-18, 23 in part, 26-27, 28 partly, 31-35 (except *traces* of E); Kitt., 2b-4a, 11a, 12, 13a, 14-18, 21 (read יְהוּדָה), 23b, 25a-27, 28b, 32 sq. mostly, 35 (except *last clause*); K. and S., 3 sq., 12 sq., 14b, 18b, 21 (read יְהוּדָה for רְאוּבֵן), 23a, 25-27, 28a from וַיִּמְשְׁכוּ, 31 (first clause), 32 sq. (except first word), 35); 38 entire† (so *all*);

* And aside from this, P may have had an account of his own, which R omitted because he prefers to give the fuller prophetic accounts.

† But its proper place is evidently not here, though it is hard to tell just where it does belong.

39 : 1 [except the portion identical with 37 : 36 (= R from E)], 2 sq., 4 partly, 5 sq., 7-20, 21 partly, 5 sq., 7-20, 21 partly, 22 sq. (Well., 1-5, 20-23, traces in 6-19; Kuen., all J¹ worked over by J²; Del., all J worked over by R; Kitt., 1aבβ, 2 sq., 4 (except וישרת אתו, 5b-33; K. and S., all = J, except הטבחים... פוטיפר (= R) and 2aב, וישרת אתו in 4 and 6a (= E)); 40 : 1, 3b, 5b, 15b (so practically all, except the first clause is denied by Well., Kitt., K. and S.; Kuen., see note on E *in loco*; Del., verses 1, 10 = J, nothing else, 3b, 5b, 15b = R); 41 : 14, 18-22 (?), 34, 30b or 31, 35b or 35a, 41, 43b, 44 or 40, 49 or 48, 55, 56a or 54b (Well., 30 sq., 33-36, 48 sq., 54-57; Kuen., see note on E *in loco*; Del., only traces in 35, 41 (?), 49; Kitt., 7, 31(?), 34a(?), 35a(?), 41(?), 43b(?), 44(?), 49(?), 55(?), (cf. *Geschichte*, pp. 131, 143); K. and S., 41, 49aב).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"...Joseph brings the evil report of his brothers to his father, whose favorite he was. His brothers hate him, and decide to kill him. When he comes to them they cast him into an empty pit; but while they are at dinner a bedouin caravan, on its way to Egypt, passes by, and Judah proposes to sell him as a slave. They then kill a goat, and, dipping Joseph's mantle in its blood, make their father believe that his beloved son has fallen a prey to a wild beast. —* Joseph is taken to Egypt and sold as a slave. Yahweh blesses him, and for his sake, his master; and he becomes his master's chief steward. Unfortunately his mistress becomes enamored of him, and finding that her love is not returned, slanders him to her husband, who casts him into prison. Here also he soon becomes a favorite, and makes the acquaintance of Pharaoh's baker and butler, who are imprisoned there. [These probably recommend him to their king after they are released.†] Pharaoh summons him from prison; and when Joseph tells him of a coming famine, and that provision should be made for it in the years of plenty which are to precede it, the king appoints him over all Egypt, second only to the king himself. Joseph stores away a great quantity of grain, so that Egypt is well provided when the famine begins."

3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) נשא ענים וגו' (37:25; 39:7).
- (2) בשר (= relative) (37:27).
- (3) ותהר (38:3,4,18): cf. also 24,25.
- (4) יסף (38:5,26).
- (5) רע בעיני (38:7,10).
- (6) לבלתי (38:9).

- (7) הבה (38:16).
- (8) נא (38:16,25).
- (9) יהיה (38:7 twice, 10; 39:2,3 twice, 5 twice, 21,23 twice).
- (10) גרי (38:17,20,23).
- (11) צעף (38:14,19).
- (12) איה (38:21).

* Chapter 38 is omitted in the synopsis, because (1) its exact place is hardly known; it was evidently misplaced by R; (2) in its present position it forms too great a digression from the general narrative; (3) its contents are of an unpleasant character in many respects. It may be well to state, however, that it seems to be its general purpose to indicate the origin of "the house of David" as coming from Perez, Judah's son.

† The analysis does not tell us how Joseph reaches Egypt. The above insertion is purely conjectural.

(13) כִּי-עַל-כֵּן (38:26).

(14) כֵּן (38:23).

(15) אֲנֹכִי (38:25).

(16) פֶּרִץ (38:29).

(17) מִצְלִיחַ (39:2, 3, 23).

(18) מִצָּא חֵן (39:4): cf. also verse 21b.

(19) בְּגִלָּל (39:5).

(20) חֲרָה (39:19).

(21) חֲשַׁב (38:15).

(22) חִשֵּׁן (39:9).

(23) יַפְהָ-מְרֹאָה (39:6).

(24) תַּפְּשׁ (39:12).

2) NEW WORDS.

(1) טָרַף (37:33 twice): cf. 8:11(?); 44:28 twice; 49:9, 27; Ex. 22:11, 12; Num. 23:24.

(2) נָכַר (Hiph. = recognize) (37:32, 33; 38:25, 26): cf. 27:23; 31:32; 42:7, 8 twice.

3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.*

(1) נִטְהֶ-עַר (38:1).

(2) פָּתַח עֵינַיִם (38:14).

(3) הִתְעַלֶּף הַתְּעַלֶּף cover oneself (38:14).

(4) עֲרִבּוֹן (38:17, 18, 20).

(5) בֵּית הַסֹּהֵר (39:20 twice, 21, 22 twice, 23; 40:3, 5).

(6) הִתְנַכֵּל (37:18): only in Ps. 105:25.

(7) אֶרְחָה (37:25): only in Is. 21:13.

(8) וְנוֹנִים (38:24): cf. Hos. 1:2; 2:6, etc.

(9) בָּצַע (37:26): cf. Ex. 18:21. Rare outside.

(10) קָדְשָׁה (38:21 twice, 22): cf. Dt. 23:18. Rare.

4. STYLE OF J.†

1) It *abounds in story and anecdote*; e. g., (1) the brothers' jealousy; (2) their revenge accomplished; (3) the scheme to deceive their father; (4) the episode of Judah and Tamar; ‡ (5) the passion of Joseph's mistress; (6) Joseph's meeting with Pharaoh's butler in prison; (7) the king's dreams; (8) the butler's recollection of his experience; (9) Joseph before Pharaoh; (10) the foreign slave becoming second to the king.

2) *Easy and flowing*. These stories, when disentangled from R's arrangement of material, § are *smooth* and *graceful*. (1) Every event is complete in itself, || and at the same time naturally united with what precedes and follows; (2) details do not suffer because of any systematic plan; (3) how far this grace and ease affect the tone of the narrative, will appear under the following heads of description, etc.

3) It is *vivid, descriptive* and *dramatic*. (1) Many facts come out in conversation; e. g., (a) when Joseph relates his dreams to his brothers and father, and they reply (37:5-10 = E); (b) when the brothers consult about the dream (37:19-22 = E); (c) when Joseph's purity and integrity are referred to in his answer to his mistress (39:8, 9); (d) in the case of Joseph and the royal prisoners (40:7-19 = E); (e) of Pharaoh and Joseph (41:15-41). (2) Human nature is depicted: (a) a parent's partiality creates jealousy and hatred among the children (37:3, 4); the brothers, jealous of the aspiring brother; the careful father, "keeping

* The words or phrases in this numbered (1) to (5) occur nowhere else in the Old Testament; those numbered (6) to (8), nowhere else in the Hexateuch; those numbered (9), (10), rarely in Hexateuch.

† J and E are considered together, so far as they agree.

‡ The matter is cited in the order of chapters, not according to actual sequence of events.

§ This favors the analysis; for as the narrative now stands, there are found too many inconsistencies (as מְרִינִים and יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים in 37:28); besides, how could chap. 38 be placed by an *author* where we find it?

|| Making some allowance, to be sure, for omissions due to the combination.

the saying in mind" (37:11); (c) the father's extreme grief (37:33-35); (d) rejected love turned into terrible hate (39:12-18); (e) Joseph's attempt to turn his conversation with the butler to his advantage (40:14-15); (f) "yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him" (40:23); (g) Joseph's modesty and piety in the simple answer, "It is not in me; *God* shall give an answer of peace, etc." (41:16). (3) *Scenes presented*: (a) Joseph seeking his brothers (37:15-17); (b) the passing caravan (37:25); (c) Tamar by the road-side (38:14sq.); (d) the Adullamite going around with the kid, inquiring for the harlot (38:20-23); (e) the picturesque character of the dreams; e. g., Joseph's first dream is a "harvest scene;" the butler's dream, "the preparation of the king's wine;" Pharaoh "stands by the river" (cf. Ex. 7:15; 8:16). (4) *Descriptive touches*: (a) the father's love for his son finding expression in "a special garment" (37:3b); (b) "they hated him and *could not speak peaceably unto him*" (37:4b); (c) the brothers' first harsh act is "to *strip off* his coat, the coat which was the token of the father's love" (37:23b); (d) they sell a brother for twenty pieces (37:28); (e) "they sit down to eat" (37:25) while their brother is in the pit; (f) Joseph is surprised by his mistress, "while he went into the house to do his work, and there was none of the men of the house within" (39:11); (g) when the *king* summons Joseph, they make him *run* from the prison (41:14). (5) Space forbids the noting of *circumstantial clauses*. (6) Emphatic repetition of infinitives: * (1) הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּמְלֹךְ (37:8); (2) מִשַּׁל תִּמְשַׁל (*id.*); (3) הָבֹא נִבֹּא (37:10); (4) טָרַף טָרַף (37:33); (5) נָגַב נִגְבִּי (40:15).

4) Characterized by the presence of *puns*. (1) פָּרִיץ because פָּרִיץ (38:29); (2) זָרַח because of the *bright* scarlet thread (38:30); (3) נִשִּׁי מְנִשָּׁה because נִשִּׁי (41:51); (4) הִפְרִנִּי because אֶפְרַיִם (41:52).

5) *Individual*, rather than *generic*. (1) "An Adullamite whose name is Hirah" (38:1); (2) Judah's father-in-law was Shua (38:2); (3) the name of his daughter-in-law was Tamar (38:6); (4) Potiphar, a eunuch of Pharaoh (37:36); (5) Pharaoh surnames Joseph Zaphnath-paneah (41:45); (6) he gives him Asenath for a wife; (7) she is the daughter of *Poti-pher*.†‡

6) *Prophetic* (not in the sense of prediction). (1) A parent's partiality leads to trouble in the family.‡ (2) Jealousy and hate will lead one even to enslave (or kill) his own brother. (3) One sin leads to another; for having sold their brother, Jacob's sons must invent a lie to pacify their father. (4) Even when our nearest

* In this connection, we may also notice the many *verbs with a cognate accusative*; as (1) הָלַם הָלָם (37:5, 9 twice; 40:5, 8; 41:11, 15); (2) אָלַם אֶלְמִים (37:7); (3) פָּרִץ פָּרִץ (38:29); (4) פָּקַד פְּקָדִים (41:34). This feature also is especially marked in this section, though of course found elsewhere.

† The first three are J; the rest are E.

‡ There are, however, many cases in which they might have been specific, but are not; e. g., in the names of (1) Judah's wife (38:2); (2) Potiphar's wife (39:7); (3) the prison-keeper (39:22); (4) the butler and baker (40:1).

§ This lesson was drawn by the Talmudists.

friends are against us, if God be with us we may be sure of success. (5) God is able to bring good out of evil (cf. 50:20). (6) Small affairs may have important consequences: a quarrel between brothers leads to Israel's bondage. (7) All things work together for good to them who serve God and act uprightly. (8) God is the same in Egypt as in Canaan; etc.

5. THE MATERIAL OF J.*

1) The contents seem to show that chap. 38 is at least out of place. If in its original position, **בעת ההיא** must refer to the time when Joseph was sold,† and the events have taken place within the twenty-two years which elapsed before Jacob went down into Egypt; but consider (1) the difficulty of crowding into twenty-two years the marriage of Judah, the birth of three sons, the youngest removed from the oldest by many years (vs. 11, 12), the marriage of the eldest, his death, the marriage of the second to the widow of the eldest, his death also, a long interval during which Tamar waits for Shelah, Judah's intercourse with Tamar, the birth of twins; and (2) the improbability that Judah would leave his father under circumstances so sad, and marry a Canaanitish woman, an act looked upon with disfavor at all times in the patriarchal households.‡‡

2) It is not to be overlooked that, according to this chapter, the custom of the *levirate* is very old, antedating by centuries the law recorded in Deuteronomy; P would not have been guilty of such an anachronism. Other points, though of interest, may be omitted.

C. The Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

37:5-18a [except 5b, 8c, **ויספר אתו לאחיו** in vs. 9, 10a (LXX.) = R; vs. 12-14*; **מעמק חברון** in v. 14 = R or J, 19, 20, 22, 23sq.*, 24, 28*, 29sq., 31sq.*, 34sq.*, 36; also **וישמע ראובן** in v. 21 [vs. 28c, 35b = J; 31sq. part E, part J] (Well., 2b-11 (**אביו** . . . **את-בני** in v. 2, and 10a = R), 12-14 = principally J; 13b, 14a = E, then vs. 18, 22, 23 in part, 24 partly, 28-30, 36, parts of 32, 34 and 35; Kuen., 3-24*, 25a (except 18, 21* and fragments in 18sq. and 23 [= J]; vs. 2, from **והוא** on, and 4b, 8c, 9a, **בשכם** in 12, 14b, and **ראובן** in 21 = R), 28abd, 29-31, 32 (except the first clause), 33ab, 34, 35a, 36; Del., 5-11 (except 5b, 8c, and **ויספר אתו לאחיו** in 9 [= R]), 19-25a (23 = JE), 28abd, 29sq., 31-35 [EJ], 36; Kitt., 2ac (from **יוסף** to **בצאן** and from **ויבא** on), 4b-10, 11b, 13b (from **לכה** on), 19sq. (except **ונשלכיהו באחר חברות**), 22, 23ab, 24, 25a, 28ab, 29-31, **לכה**, last three words in 35, 36; K. and S., 2b (from **היה** on; but **אביו** . . . **את-בני** = gloss), 5-11 (except 5b, 8b, **אחיו** . . . **ויספר** in 10 = R), 13b, 14a, 15-17, 19sq., 22, 23b, 24, 28abd, 29sq., 31b, first word in 32, 34, 36);

* Under J, as such, we have to consider only chap. 38. Everything else will be treated under E, by way of comparison and contrast.

† Cf. Delitzsch *in loco*, vol. II. p. 267sq.

‡ Cf. Dillmann, *Gen.*, 5th ed., 392; Reuss, *Gesch. d. O. T.*, 250; Kuen., *Ond.*, 2d ed., § 13. No. 9.

39:4 partly, 6, 21 in part [הטבחים... פוטיפר in 1 = R] (Well., 6-19 *mostly*, and *traces* in 2, 4sq. and 23; Kuen., *no* E in 39; Del., *traces* in 6, etc.; Kitt., *traces* (as וישרת אתו) in 4, then 5sq.; K. and S., *traces* in 2sq., then 6a); 40:2, 3a, 4, 5a, 6-15a, 16-23 (so Well., but *adding* 1a and 15b; Kuen., 40-42* = E; Del., like Dill., but making 3b, 5b and 15b = R, and 10 = J *partly*; so, practically, Kitt., but adding 1a; K. and S., like Dill., but adding 1a; 41 *all* [except some *traces* of J in 14, 18-22(?), 34, and one part of the following doublets: 30b = 31, 35a = 35b, 41 and 43b and 44 = 40, 48 = 49, 55 and 56a = 54b; also 46 = P. (according to *all* critics) and 47 (?), 36 (?), 50 partly, according to Dill.] (so Well., except *traces* of J in 30sq. and 33-36, 48sq., 54-57; Kuen., *all**; so Del., except *traces* in 35, 41, 49 (?) = J; Kitt., 1-16, 25-36 (except small interpolations from J in 7, 31, 34sq.), 37-40, 42, 43a, 45sq. (?), 47sq., 51sq., 53-57 partly).

2. SYNOPSIS.

“Joseph* dreams that, while binding sheaves in the field, his brothers’ sheaves surround his sheaf and pay it obeisance. He tells the dream to his brothers. They ask him, ‘Shalt thou indeed reign over us?’ He dreams again that the sun, moon and eleven stars bow to him. This also he tells to his kinsfolk; but his father rebukes him, though making a note of the dream, while his brothers are incensed against him. [Once†], while seeking his brethren, a man finds him wandering in the field, and informs him that they have gone to Dothan; he finds them there. When they see him still at a distance, they plan to slay him and thus relieve themselves of his troublesome dreams. *Reuben* interposes, suggesting that they throw him into a pit, and not shed his blood. They take his advice; but Midianitish (not Ishmaelite) merchants, passing by, draw Joseph out of the pit and take him to Egypt. *Reuben*, returning to the pit and not finding Joseph, rends his clothes, crying out in despair. They send Joseph’s beautiful garment [to Jacob†], and he mourns greatly the loss of his son. Joseph is sold by the Midianites to Potiphar, captain of the guard, one of Pharaoh’s eunuchs. He is devoted to his master’s interests and is well treated by him. Pharaoh, becoming angry with his baker and butler, puts them in the prison-house of the captain of the guard, who appoints Joseph to wait on them. They both dream in the same night, and Joseph, coming to them on the next morning, finds them troubled. Upon inquiring, he learns the cause of their anxiety. The butler tells his dream of the vine with three branches, from which he obtained wine for the king, and Joseph tells him that within three days he will be restored to his post. He at the same time requests him to mention his case to the king, since he has been stolen from the land of the Hebrews. The baker, encouraged by the butler’s experience, tells how, in his dream, he was carrying three baskets on his head, with all sorts

* The break here is not wholly due to the analysis; the introduction of Joseph is at best quite abrupt.

† This is to be supplied.

of royal food in the uppermost one, from which a bird was eating. This is interpreted by Joseph to mean that in three days the baker will be beheaded and his corpse eaten by birds. Though it came to pass precisely as Joseph foretold, the butler did not mention his name, but forgot him. Now Pharaoh has a double dream in one night which alarms him greatly; and since none of his wise men can interpret it for him, the butler tells him of the dreams interpreted by Joseph in prison. Joseph is called, and Pharaoh tells him how he first saw seven fat kine swallowed up by seven poor ones; and then, after waking up and going to sleep again, seven full and stout 'ears' of grain were swallowed by seven others that were extremely poor. Joseph informs him that it is a revelation from God, warning him of a seven-year famine which is to follow seven years of extraordinary prosperity and plenty. The repetition simply shows that the prediction is soon to be fulfilled; and he advises the king to appoint an able man who shall lay by provisions during the years of abundance sufficient for the terrible and prolonged famine which will come afterwards. Pharaoh thinks that Joseph himself is the man for such a position, and he raises him to be ruler of Egypt, second only to himself. He changes his name to Zaphnath-paneah, and gives him Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phaera, priest of On, for a wife. Joseph accumulates an abundance of grain in every city of Egypt during the seven years of blessing. When the famine comes all the lands suffer; but Egypt opens her store-houses and becomes the market of the world."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

(1) חָלוּם (37:5, 6, 9 twice, 10, 19, 20; 40:5 thrice, 8, 9 twice, 16; 41:1, 5 verb, 7 verb, 8, 11 twice, 12 twice, 15 twice, 17, 22, 25, 32).

(2) נָא (37:6, 14, 16, 32; 40:8, 14).

(3) אֲנִכִּי (37:16).

(4) מָרָם (37:18 = J; 41:50).

(5) הַלֹּזָה (39:19).

(6) שֶׁלַח יָד (37:22).

(7) אֱלֹהִים (39:9*; 40:8; 41:16, 25, 28, 32 twice, 38, 39, 51, 52).

(8) מְדוּעַ (40:7).

(9) שֵׁם (37:34; 40:15; 41:42): note also שֵׁית (41:33).

(10) בִּלְעָדִי (41:16, 44 (?)).

(11) בַּתְּחֻלָּה (41:21).

(12) רֶק (41:40).

(13) כַּחֲלוֹל הַיָּם (41:49).

(14) חָרַל (41:49).

(15) תַּעָּה (37:15).

(16) אִיפָּה (37:16).

(17) יִפְתַּ מְרֹאָה (41:2, 4).

(18) פַּעַם (41:32).

2) NEW WORDS.

(1) בָּקַשׁ (37:15, 16): very common in prophetic literature, but nowhere in P, and but seldom in Chron. Cf. Fürst, the references being too numerous to mention.

(2) מָרַחַק (37:18): cf. 22:4; Ex. 2:4; 20:18, 21; 24:1.

(3) הִצִּיל (37:21, 22): cf. 31:9, 16; 32:12; Ex. 2:19; 5:23 twice; 6:6; 12:27; 18:9, 10; and many other places.

(4) מָאֵן (37:35; 39:8): cf. 48:19; Ex. 4:23; 7:14, 27; 9:2; 10:3, 4; 16:28; 22:16 twice; Num. 20:21; 22:13, 14.

(5) שָׁאֵל (37:35): cf. 42:38; 44:29, 31; Num. 16:30, 33.

(6) קָרִים (41:6, 23, 27): cf. Ex. 10:13; 14:21; poetic.

(7) עָמַל (41:51): cf. Num. 23:21; Deut. 26:7.

(8) שָׁבַר *trade* (41:56, 57): cf. 42:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10; 43:2, 4, 20, 22; 47:14.

(9) נָכַן (41:32): cf. Ex. 8:22; 34:2.

(10) אֲשַׁכַּל (40:10): cf. Num. 13:23, 24; Dt. 32:32; rare.

3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.*

- (1) פתרון (40:5, 8, 12, 18; 41:11).
 (2) שחט (40:11).
 (3) צנמות (41:23).
 (4) חמש (41:34).
 (5) אברך (41:43).
 (6) קקין (41:47).
 (7) אדם *bind* (37:7 four times): only in Ps. 126:7.
 (8) אחרו (41:2, 18): only in Job 8:11.
 (9) זעף (40:6): cf. Dan. 1:10.
 (10) שריג (40:10): only in Joel 1:7.
 (11) כן *post* of duty (40:13; 41:13): in this sense only in Dan. 11:7, 20, 21, 38.
 (12) כריא (41:2, 4, 5, 7, 18, 20): cf. Jud. 3:17, etc.
 (13) שרף (41:6, 23, 27): very rare.
 (14) פָּעַם (with רוּחַ) (41:8): cf. Dan. 2:1, 3.
 (15) רויץ (in Hiph.) (41:14): cf. 1 Sam. 17:17. Rare.
 (16) שנה (as verb) (41:32).
 (17) נשה (41:51): poetic.
 (18) רביר (41:42): only in Ez. 16:11.

4. STYLE.

[See under J, p. 4, for JE characteristics.] Of the *peculiar* traits of E we find here only *dreams*. But these are characterized both by their frequency (six in number: two of Joseph, two of Pharaoh, one of the butler, one of the baker) and their prophetic forecast. Their beauty and originality have been considered elsewhere.

5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered, compared and contrasted.]

1) *Duplicates and differences*. (1) The cause of disruption between Joseph and his brothers, according to J, is Jacob's partiality (37:3sq.); according to E, it is Joseph's dreams (37:5-11a). (2) Verse 14 is practically a duplicate of 13; 18a, of 18b; and 18c, of 20a. Putting all these together, we seem to have two accounts of Joseph's going to his brothers by Jacob's order, and when they see him at a distance, of their deciding to kill him. But according to one account, he is sent to Shechem, where he really finds them; according to the other, he is informed on the road that they went to Dothan, and he meets them there. (3) There are two attempts to save Joseph's life: according to E it is Reuben who saves him, by advising to cast him into a pit; according to J, it is Judah, who counsels to sell him. (4) Joseph is carried off to Egypt: according to E, by Midianites, who steal him (cf. 40:15a) from the pit; but in J, he is sold to Ishmaelites by his brothers. (5) 39:1 = 37:36, but with these differences: according to J, Joseph is sold by the Ishmaelites to an Egyptian; according to E, Potiphar buys him of the Midianites.† (6) According to J, Joseph is imprisoned by his "Egyptian master," because of some misunderstanding with his mistress; E knows nothing about it. (7) Consistently, then, J makes Joseph meet the

* Words numbered (1) to (6) are found in no other connection; those numbered (7) to (18) occur nowhere else in the Hexateuch.

† To explain this repetition as a mere "resuming of the thought" interrupted by 38, is hardly satisfactory; since (1) chapter 38 is not in its proper place; (2) a mere *cue* would not be so elaborate (the resuming verse being considerably longer than the *original* account); and (3) Ishmaelites are not Midianites; (4) אִישׁ מִצְרִי would never be inserted in explanation of Potiphar, after having been introduced in 37:36. On the other hand, after R has misplaced 38 we should expect him to *harmonize* J and E by inserting "Potiphar, etc.," in 39:1.

king's butler and baker as mutual fellow prisoners; but E puts the political offenders in the keeping of the "commander of the guard," who appoints Joseph to serve them. (8) How J brings Joseph before Pharaoh is not clear; we have at best but *traces* of this writer in chapters 40 and 41.* But from what we can gather it comes about in somewhat like the following way: Joseph meets the butler in prison, becomes acquainted with him, and tells him the story of his grievance; when the butler is released he remembers him to the king. The dreams, as usual, are E's; and since they make his account the more ingenious and dramatic, R gives only his account, making, of course, the necessary harmonies in verse 3b, etc. (9) Nor are we sure from J of the occasion that brought out Joseph's prophetic (or predictive) powers with regard to the coming famine. In E, of course, it is Pharaoh's dream. (10) But when we take up Joseph's advice to the king, resulting in his appointment, we again have duplicates (in 41) as follows: verse 30b (beginning with וַיִּשְׁכַּח) = 31, 33 = 34, 35a = 35b, 41 + 43b + 44 = 40, one of which is J; the other = E. (11) In like manner, the remainder of chapter 41 presents the following repetitions: 48 = 49, 54b = 56a, which again betray the compound character of the story.

2) *Inconsistencies*. (1) The difficulty which Joseph's age (37:2) presents, when compared with previous material, was considered in our last section. (2) As to JE, some of the *differences* enumerated above, amount to *inconsistencies*; e. g., (a) Midianites vs. Ishmaelites; (b) Reuben vs. Judah; (c) was Joseph sold, or stolen? (d) was he a prisoner with, or a free servant of, the butler and baker? (3) Especially noticeable are verses 29sq. (in 37): they cannot go with the selling account; for why should not Reuben know of the transaction? But they do fall in with the stealing.

3) *Omissions and combinations*. (1) The omissions are quite few, and on the whole not very serious (cf. "synopsis" and "material" above). (2) The combinations made by R, on the other hand, are of a very pronounced character.

6. THEOLOGY.

The following *remarks* will be sufficient:

1) This section has nothing particularly striking in its conception of God. (1) There are *no* unlikely *anthropomorphisms*; nor (2) any references to religious worship; nor (3) any familiar intercourse between the Deity and man.

2) Still God is near to man, and acting upon him directly. Note, (1) when Er and Onan are displeasing to Yahweh, he puts them to death (38:7b, 10b); (2) Yahweh is with Joseph (39:2, 21a), and influences his masters to treat him well (39:3, 21b).

3) E lays great emphasis on dreams as coming from God (41:25, 28, 32); and in general the whole story tends to show the correctness of dreams.

* See "analysis."

4) The Rabbins held that **שַׂי** in 37:15, 17 = angel. While not probable, it is not impossible, especially in the light of 32:25b. At any rate, the episode seems to indicate that the man was at least providentially sent.

XV. The Analysis of Gen. 42:1-46:34.

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) First visit of Joseph's brothers to Egypt; (2) their second visit, with Benjamin; (3) Benjamin arrested on a charge of theft; (4) Judah's plea in his behalf; (5) Joseph makes himself known to his brothers, and through them to his father; (6) Jacob and all his family, with their goods, move to Egypt.]

A. The Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

46:6-27 [verses 8, 12b, 15, 20, 26sq. worked over by R] (so Del., Kitt.; Bud. fails to consider this chapter; Well., Kuen., K. and S., only 6sq. = P, 8-27 = R).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"And they, that is, Jacob and all his seed with him,* took their cattle, and their possessions which they had amassed in the land of Canaan, and they came to Egypt. His sons and his sons' sons, his daughters and his sons' daughters, and all his seed, he brought with him into Egypt." Then follows a complete list of the "seventy souls" in Jacob's family at the time of the patriarch's entrance into Egypt, including Joseph's two sons.

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

(1) **רכוש** (46:6).

(2) **רכש** (46:6).

(3) **אָרץ כְּנַעַן** (46:6, 12).

(4) **וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת** (46:8).

(5) **פָּרִץ אָרֶם** (46:15).

2) NEW WORDS.

None.

4. STYLE.

1) *Verbose and repetitious.* (1) Verse 7 adds absolutely nothing to verse 6. (2) Verse 6 in itself might be condensed. (3) There are traces of this style also in verses 8-27; but these may be due to R.

2) *Exact, numerical and systematic.* (1) The formula **אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי** in verses 15, 18, 22, 25†. (2) The words **כָּל-נַפְשׁ** in verses 15b, 22b, 25b, 26a and b, 27b. (3) The partial totals, as "thirty-three," verse 15; "sixteen," verse 18; "fourteen," verse 22; "seven," verse 25; "sixty-six," verse 26; "two," verse 27a. (4) The grand total, "seventy," verse 27b. (5) It will be remembered that the list here given is

* This is supplied, not from other material, but from the last part of the verse.

† Although verses 8-27, as shown in the "analysis," have unmistakable signs of R's hand, the basis and general tone of the passage is undoubtedly P. We may, therefore, properly illustrate the Priest's style by its diction.

headed by the customary formula **אלה תלדות** (37:2), which was interrupted by the few parenthetical remarks about Joseph. (6) Note the following statistical memoranda: (a) "the children of Leah which she bare unto Jacob in Paddan-aram," verse 15; (b) "but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan," verse 12; (c) "Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah, his daughter," verse 18; (d) verse 20; (e) "Bilhah, whom Laban gave to Rachel, his daughter," verse 25; (f) "except the wives of the sons of Jacob," verse 26.

5. MATERIAL.

P's statistics seem inconsistent with the prophetic stories. (1) Understanding Genesis to be from one author, we have three generations in twenty-two years: Joseph, sold at seventeen (37:23), interprets Pharaoh's dream at thirty (41:46a); *i. e.*, the seven years of plenty began thirteen years after Joseph was sold; Jacob and his family come to Egypt in the second year of the famine (45:6a), or 22 + years after Joseph was sold; but during this time Judah marries, has three sons, the youngest becomes of marriageable age; then Perez is born (all this in 38), who in turn begets two sons before Jacob's entrance into Egypt (46:12). (2) 46:21 tells us that *Benjamin* had *ten children* on entering Egypt. But *all through* chapters 42-44, Benjamin is considered a *child*; see especially the following passages: 42:13, 20, 32, 34; 43:8sq., 29; 44:2, 12, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; where he is invariably called **נער** or **רֵט**.

6. THEOLOGY.

This material exhibits none.

B. The Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

42:2a, 4b, 6, parts of 7, **אכל** in 10, 27, 28a; also verse 38 [belonging, however, after 43:3*] (Well., 4b, 6 partly, 27sq.; 38, like Dill.; Kuen., like Dill.; Del., 27, 28a and other traces; 38, like Dill.; Kitt., 2a, 4b, 6ab, 7ab, 27sq. 38; K. and S., 2a, 4b-7 (except **קשות . . . ידבר** in verse 7 = R), 27, 38); 43:1-3 [and then comes 42:38], 4-13, 15-23ab, 24-34 (so all, except that Kitt. and K. and S. retain 42:38 in its place); 44 entire (so all, except Kitt., who suggests a possible background of E in 2, 12, 23, 26); 45:1a, 2, 4b, 5a, 10 partly, 13sq., 28 (Well., 1, **מכרתם אתי** in 4sq., 10, 13sq., 28; Kuen., 45 = E, except parts of verses 4, 5, etc. (28 not mentioned); Del., 45 = J (except 17-23 = E), with interpolations from E; Kitt., 1a, 2, 4c, 5a, 10, 13sq., 28; K. and S., 1a, 2ac, 4c, parts of 5, first three words in 10, 3sq., 28); 46:28-34 (so all; but Well. adds 1, 3sq. in part; Del. adds 1; Kitt., 1a, (12b and 19sq.?) ; K. and S. add only 1a^{ss}).

* Cf. "synopsis," p. 116.

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"And said [Jacob to his sons*], I hear that there is corn in Egypt. Joseph, being at the head of the distribution of grain, his brethren come to him and bow before him. He recognizes them, and enters into conversation with them. . . . In an inn [on their way back*], one opens his sack to feed his ass, and finds his money returned. He tells his brothers about it. [Having returned home*] and having consumed the supply brought from Egypt, their father tells them to go again and buy more food. But Judah objects that the Egyptian forbade them to meet him again unless they should bring Benjamin. Jacob replies that the boy must not go, since he is the only one now left; and if misfortune befall him on the road, he could not die in peace.† After some discussion Judah offers to go surety for the boy's safety, and the sorrowful father, though not without reluctance, consents to let his child go; but he advises them to return the money found in the sacks and also to take along a present for the man. They do as told, and present themselves once more to Joseph. He receives them with marked hospitality in his private house, ordering his steward to prepare for them dinner. They feel ill at ease, fearing that this extraordinary attention is only intended to entrap them. Accordingly, they approach Joseph's steward, and tell him of the strange incident on their way home, how each of them found his money in his sack. The man assures them that it must be a special act of providence, since he had received their money. When Joseph comes to the house they humbly offer him the present. He speaks kindly to them, inquiring about their father, and seeing Benjamin, he blesses him. Feeling the tears coming to his eyes, he steps into his private apartment and gives full vent to his emotions. Then, having composed himself, he returns and invites them to dinner. They are all well helped, but Benjamin receives special attention. After the feast, Joseph orders his steward to fill their sacks with grain, to refund their money, and to put his (Joseph's) silver cup in Benjamin's sack. In the morning, as they leave the city, the steward is ordered to overtake them and search for the stolen cup. They protest their innocence and offer to suffer the penalty, if found guilty. The cup is found, and they drive back to Joseph's house. They see the hand of God in the transaction, and they offer to give themselves up as slaves; but Joseph refuses to retain anyone except the thief, Benjamin. Judah comes forward and very touchingly describes the aged father's reluctance to let the boy go. He assures him that the father will die if the child fails to return; and so he begs to remain a slave in Benjamin's stead. Joseph, unable to restrain himself any longer, sends all strangers out of the house, and with tears tells his brothers who he is, asking them not to grieve because they had sold him. He tells them to inform his father of his position, and to bring him with all possible haste down

* This is to be supplied from what precedes.

† This is verse 38 of chapter 42.

to Egypt. He is especially demonstrative toward Benjamin. [When Jacob hears it*] he exclaims, 'It is enough; Joseph my son is still alive; I will go and see him before I die!' Judah is sent ahead to lead the way for him to Goshen. Joseph comes in his chariot to Goshen, and after long separation, father and son meet. Joseph instructs his brothers that, when Pharaoh, who is to be informed of their arrival, asks about their occupation, they shall tell him that they are shepherds, in order to secure Goshen as a permanent home."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) שָׁבַר *buy* (42: 2a, 6, 7; 43: 2 twice, 4, 20, 22; 44: 2, 25).
 (2) קָרָא *meet, befall* (42: 4, 38; 44: 29).
 (3) נָכַר (Hiph.) *recognize* (42: 7, 8 twice).
 (4) שָׁאוֹל (42: 38; 44: 29, 31).
 (5) לוֹלֵא (43: 10): rare.
 (6) פָּעַם (43: 10; 46: 30).
 (7) אָפְנוֹא (43: 11).
 (8) אוֹלִי (43: 12).
 (9) בַּתְּחִלָּה (43: 18, 20).
 (10) קָדַר (43: 28).
 (11) נִשְׂא עֵינַיִם (43: 29).
 (12) שִׁים (43: 22, 31, 32; 44: 1, 2, 21).
 (13) חִלִּילָה (44: 7, 17).
 (14) עֵתָה (44: 10, 33; 45: 5).
 (15) נָא (44: 18, 33; 45: 4).
 (16) חֹרָה (44: 18; 45: 5).
 (17) עֵצָב (45: 5).
 (18) מִקְנָה (46: 32, 34).
 (19) עֲבָדְךָ *your humble servant* (42: 10, 11, 13; 43: 28; 44: 7, 9, 18 twice, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31 twice, 32, 33; 46: 34).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אָסוֹן (42: 4, 38; 44: 29): cf. 21: 22, 23.

- (2) אָכַל (42: 7, 10; 43: 2, 4, 20, 22; 44: 1, 25): cf. 41: 35 twice, 36, 48 twice; 47: 24; but also in Lev. 11: 34.
 (3) מָלוֹן (42: 27; 43: 21): cf. Ex. 4: 24; Jos. 4: 3, 8. Rare.
 (4) טָף (43: 8; 45: 19; 46: 5): cf. 34: 29; 47: 12, 24; 50: 8, 21; Ex. 10: 10, 24; 12: 37; Num. 14: 3, 31; 16: 27; 31: 9, 17, 18; 32: 16, 24, 26.
 (5) הִתְמַחֲמָה (43: 10): cf. 19: 16; Ex. 12: 39.
 (6) זָמַרְתָּ (43: 11): cf. Ex. 15: 2. Poetic.
 (7) בִּי (43: 20; 44: 18).

3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) שְׁלִיט (42: 6): late and rare.
 (2) קְשׁוּת (42: 7, 30): nowhere else.
 (3) אִמְתַּחַת (42: 27, 28; 43: 12, 18, 21 twice, 22, 23; 44: 1 twice, 2, 8, 11 twice, 12).
 (4) יָגוֹן (42: 38; 44: 31): rare and poetic.
 (5) עָרַב *go surety for* (43: 9; 44: 32): rare.
 (6) תִּמְחָה (43: 33): rare and poetic.
 (7) מִשְׁנָה (43: 12): nowhere else.
 (8) מִשְׁמוֹן (43: 23): poetic.
 (9) כִּמְר (43: 30): rare.
 (10) הַתִּאֲפָק (43: 31; 45: 1): prophetic literature.
 (11) מִשְׁאָת (43: 34 thrice): very rare.
 (12) עֵמֶס (44: 13): rare.

4. STYLE.†

1) It is *easy* and *flowing*. (1) Dropping out the apparent inconsistencies and repetitions by restoring R's combinations to their original form, the narrations flow on smoothly, though not, of course, without some slight omissions due, as before, to the work of R. (2) While there is an orderly and even climactic sequence of stories, no details that would add to the interest of each scene, howsoever subordinate, are slighted. Contrast P's brevity and meagerness in telling of the descent to Egypt, in his evident haste to get to the exodus and the legislation connected with it.‡

* This is to be supplied from another source.

† As before, J and E will be considered together.

‡ No illustration need be given of these two points. The consideration of the prophetic style will show this indirectly.

2) It is *vivid, descriptive, dramatic*. (1) *In general*, the description of Joseph's meeting with his brothers, has no superior, from a purely literary stand-point in any fiction. (2) Conversations are true to nature; e. g., (a) Joseph's insinuating remark, "Ye are spies," and their answers, naive, but more and more implicating (42:9-16); (b) the description of their troubled conscience, "We are verily guilty, etc." (verse 21); (c) Reuben's "Spake I not unto you, etc.?" (verse 22); (d) the care taken in rehearsing their experience to their father not to represent "the man" as too severe, *omitting* thus his first proposition to keep all of them but one (verse 16), and their three-days' imprisonment, and *adding* that, if they prove true, he would offer them the trade of Egypt (cf. verse 34 with verse 20)—evidently desiring to make their father believe that there was no risk in sending Benjamin, and much to gain by it; (e) their *explanation* to Joseph's steward (43:18-23a); (f) their willingness that the thief should receive the severest penalty, so long as they are confident of their innocence (44:9a), but when the cup is actually found, the proposition of slavery, not of death (44:16); (g) Judah's plea; (h) the condensed and passionate outbreak of Joseph, "I am Joseph; doth my father yet live?" (45:3); (i) in like manner, the joyful exclamation of the father, "It is enough, Joseph my son is yet alive," betraying emotion too deep for words; (k) Joseph's advice to his brethren as to what they shall say to the king;—all these intensify our interest, and give us insight into the very heart of the actors. (3) *Scenes*: (a) Joseph breaking down when he hears the conversation and repentance of his brothers (42:23sq.); (b) their dismay at finding their money returned (42:27-35); (c) the children prevailing on the despairing father to part with "his Benjamin" (43:2-14); (d) the men in Joseph's house, their gradual change of feeling from fear to the enjoyment of the feast (43:18-34); (e) caught on the road (44:4-13); (f) the thieves before Joseph (44:14-34); (g) the disclosure (45:1-15). (4) It would be too much to endeavor to point out the numerous minor touches of vivid description, such as circumstantial clauses, manner of action, time of day, etc., of which the matter is full.

3) It abounds in *story and anecdote*. It is not necessary to elaborate.

[For "material" and "theology" see under E, p. 17sq.]

C. The Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

42 entire [except 2a, 4b, 6, parts of 7, אכל in 10, 27, 28a*, and 38 (= J); 28b belongs after 35] (Well. and Kuen. except only 4b, 6 partly, 27sq, and 38 (= J); Del. finds only touches of J in 42, especially in 27, 28a, and 38, otherwise it is all E; Kitt. 1, 2b-4a, 5, 6c, 7a*, 7b-26, 29-37 = E; K. and S., all E, except 2a, 4b-7, 27, and 38 (= J), and a few touches of R); 43:14*, 23c (so all);* 45:1-27 [except 1a, 2, 4b, 5a, 10 partly, 13sq. = J; 19-21*] (so, practically, Well., Kuen.; Del., parts of 45,

* In 44 it is only Kitt. who finds traces of E in 12, and perhaps also in 2, 23, 26.

especially 17-23, 7(?), see p. 486); Kitt., 1b, 3, 4ab, 5a_ב, 5b-9, 11sq., 15-27; K. and S. all, except 1a, 2ac, 4b, 5a (but **אֵל יָחַד בְּעֵינֵיכֶם** = E), first three words in 10, 13sq., and 28 = J; 19, 20, and traces in 21 = R); 46:1 in part, 3sq., 5 partly [1a, 5b = J or R] (Well., 1b, 2-5*; Kuen., 1b-5* (1a = R); Del., 1-5; Kitt., 1b-5 (except **יִשְׂרָאֵל** in 2); K. and S., 1b-3a (3b = R), 4, 5a (5b = R)).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Jacob, noticing that Egypt has grain to sell, sends ten of his sons to buy, keeping Benjamin at home. When they come to Joseph, he recognizes them, and recalls his dreams. He charges them with being spies. In their attempt to refute the charge, they tell him that they have a little brother at home. He asks that this brother be brought and their statement proved. After keeping them for three days in prison, he proposes to retain one as a hostage, while the others shall go to fetch their brother. Reuben reminds his brothers (in their own dialect, of which he supposes Joseph to be ignorant) how foully they had dealt with Joseph; and he, hearing it, turns away and weeps. He takes Simeon from them as prisoner, and tells his steward to put their money back in their sacks filled with grain. On returning home, they tell their father of their misfortune. But their fear increases when, on emptying their sacks, they find their money. Jacob is in despair about their taking Benjamin; but Reuben assures him that he would take care of him at the peril of his own two children; and so Jacob gives them his blessing and permits Benjamin to go. [When they come to Joseph again*] he releases Simeon and tells them who he is. They are greatly frightened; but he calls them to draw nigh to him, assuring them that he was sent to Egypt by God himself, to provide for them in time of need. He bids them hasten to Jacob and tell him of his son's success, and to bring him and his to Egypt. Meantime, the report of Joseph's brethren having come, has reached the king, who is greatly pleased, and bids Joseph send wagons to bring down his people. Joseph gives presents to each of his brothers, especially to Benjamin, and sends an abundance of Egypt's goods to his father. The old man can scarcely believe the good news; but being assured by their words and by the presents of Joseph, he goes to Beer-sheba, where he offers sacrifices to God. There God appears to him in a 'vision of the night,' and tells him not to fear to go to Egypt. He then proceeds with his children in the vehicles which Pharaoh sent."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) **בַּיט** שָׁבַר (42:1, 2b, 3, 5, 19, 26).
- (2) **חָלַם** (42:9).
- (3) **עַל-כֵּן** (42:21).
- (4) **יָלַד** (42:22).

- (5) **אֱלֹהִים** (42:28b; 43:29b; 44:16; 45:5b, 7, 8, 9; 46:2).
- (6) **שִׁים** (45:7, 8, 9; 46:3).
- (7) **אָנֹכִי** (46:3, 4 twice).

* To be supplied from other material.

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) מרגל (42:9, 11, 14, 16, 30, 31, 34): cf. Jós. 2:1; 6:22, 23, 25; 14:7.
 (2) משמר (42:17, 19): cf. 40:3, 4, 7; 41:10; Num. 15:34. But also Lev. 24:12.
 (3) צרה (42:25; 45:21): cf. Ex. 12:39; Jos. 1:11; 9:11.
 (4) שכל (42:36; 43:14 twice): cf. 27:45; 31:38; Ex. 23:26.
 (5) נבהל (45:3): cf. Ex. 15:15. Rare and poetic.
 (6) כלכל (45:11): cf. 47:12; 50:21. Rather rare.
 (7) חוס (with עיץ) (45:20): occasionally in Dt. Otherwise rare.
 (8) טיב (45:18, 20, 23): cf. 24:10; Ex. 33:19; also Dt. 6:11; 28:47.
 (9) רגל (45:24): cf. Ex. 15:14. Also Dt. 2:25.

3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) כָּר (42:3, 25; 45:23): cf. 41:35, 49.
 (2) כָּנִים (42:11, 19, 31, 33, 34): nowhere else.
 (3) כחן (42:15, 16): poetic.
 (4) חִי (in an oath) (42:15, 16): rare.
 (5) רעבון (42:19, 33): only in Ps. 37:19.
 (6) יָאֵל (42:21): rare.
 (7) צרה (42:21 twice): cf. 35:3. Poetic.
 (8) מליץ (42:23): poetic and rare.
 (9) צָרִיר (42:35 twice): rare and poetic.
 (10) מְחִיָּה (45:5b): very rare.
 (11) טען (45:17): only Is. 14:19(?).
 (12) חלפות (45:22 twice): rare and poetic.
 (13) פוג (45:26): rare and poetic.

4. STYLE.

[Points which this writer has in common with J have been considered (see p. 14). Here only E's peculiarities are noticed.]

- 1) God appears to Jacob in a vision of the night (46:2a).
- 2) Jacob's name is repeated when God calls him (46:2b).
- 3) Worship in Beer-sheba is emphasized (46:1).

5. MATERIAL.

Have we one or two accounts in the prophetic narrative?

1) *Duplicates.* (1) 42 has the following repetitions: verse 2a = 1a; 6b = 5a; 8sq. = 7. While the first two do not interrupt the flow of the story, the last does. (2) Again, verse 27sq. tell of one discovering his refunded money in his bag, while on the way at an inn, and he tells his brothers about it. But in 35 they are as much astonished and frightened, when the money is found, as their father, who had not been informed of the experience at the inn. (3) It is difficult to see why Jacob should refuse Reuben, who offered his two sons as surety for Benjamin, and should accept Judah's bail, which was of a far less substantial character. Besides, in view of the existence of a Reuben-Judah duplicate in the early part of the story (37:21 and 26), and of the fact that verse 38 (in 42) has the language of 44:29, 31,—the presence of the double representation becomes quite conclusive. (4) In 45, 4b = 3a, and verse 13 = 9, while its connection with 12 is hardly natural. (5) We may also notice that in 4b-5a Joseph speaks of his brothers' selling him; while in 5b, 6 and 8 he says, "God sent me here." This point gains significance if we remember the double representation of stealing and selling in 37:28.

2) *Differences.* The differences more definitely indicated are therefore, (1) that, according to J, the restored money is found on the way at an inn; according

to E, after reaching home; (2) that E consistently makes Reuben go surety for Benjamin's safety, while J, with still greater consistency, pushes Judah forward, not only (a) as surety (43:8sq.), and (b) as advocate (44:18-34), but also (c) as leader to Goshen (46:28); (3) that J consistently makes Joseph speak of his brothers' selling him, while in E he refers merely to an act of providence transferring him to Egypt.

3) *Omissions*. Of course, in combining two accounts, whatever was identical, and there must, in the nature of the case, have been much, is omitted from the less interesting story. Thus we find, (1) the first visit of the brothers to Egypt is mostly E; (2) while the second trip is J, with *traces* only of E; (2) so also Benjamin's guilt and defense is purely J; (4) Joseph's disclosure of himself, on the other hand, is mainly E; (5) Jacob at Beer-sheba is E; (6) while his arrival in Egypt is J.

6. THEOLOGY.

. There is nothing which deserves special notice.

XVI. The Analysis of Gen. 47:1-50:26.

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Introduction of Jacob and his family to Pharaoh; (2) one-fifth of the grain of Egypt is set apart for the king; (3) Jacob's last sickness, the adoption of Manasseh and Ephraim, the blessing of his children, and his death; (4) the funeral of Jacob; (5) the death of Joseph.]

A. Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:5b [supplying before it from LXX. ויבאו מצרימה אל, then יוסף יעקב ובניו וישמע פרעה מלך מצרים ויאמר פרעה ליוסף לאמר 5b, 6a, 7-11, 27 partly, 28 (so all critics); 48:3-6, also 7 [belonging, however, after 49:32, and הוא בית לחם in it = R] (so all, except verse 7 is assigned by Bud., Kuen., Del. (?), K. and S. to R entirely); 49:1a, 28b-32 [except either 30b or 32 = R],* 33 partly [המטה... ויאסף = J] (so all; Bud. adds ואת רחל at end of verse 31); 50:12sq. (so all).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Jacob and his family arrive in Egypt, and Pharaoh, hearing of it, tells Joseph to locate them wherever he thinks best.† Joseph introduces his father to the king, to whom the old man complains that the 130 years of his life have been full of trouble. Then Joseph gives them a home in the land of Raamses, where Israel settles down and lives for seventeen years in prosperity. When he is 147 years old, at his death, he adopts Ephraim and Manasseh as his own children.

* Here, according to Dillmann, etc., belongs 48:7. See "synopsis."

† This is supplied from LXX., according to "analysis" above.

Then the dying father calls his children, and having blessed them each and all, he charges them to bury him in the cave of Machpelah, where all the patriarchs and their wives (except Rachel, buried on the way to Ephrath*) lie buried. Having finished his instructions, he passes away and is gathered unto his people, and his children carry his body to Canaan for burial in the ancestral lot, according to his will."

3. LANGUAGE.

(1) יְמֵי שְׁנֵי (47:8, 9 thrice, 28).

(2) אָחוּה (47:11; 48:4; 49:30; 50:13).

(3) פָּרָה וּרְבָה (47:27; 48:4).

(4) אֵל שְׂרִי (48:3).

(5) נָתַן (for שִׁים) (48:4).

(6) קָהַל עַמִּים (48:4).

(7) זָרַע אַחֲרָיו (48:4).

(8) יָלַד (in Hiph.) (48:6).

(9) פָּדָן (48:7).

(10) הָאֶסְפָּא אֵל עַם (49:29, 33).

(11) גִּוַע (49:33).

(12) מַכְפֵּלָה (49:30; 50:13).

No new words that are characteristic of P.

4. STYLE.

As usual, it is marked by — 1) *Numbers*. (1) Jacob arrives in Egypt at 130 years of age (47:9). (2) He lives in Egypt seventeen years (47:28a). (3) He dies at 147 years (47:28b).

2) *Repetition*. (1) The last clause of 49:28b adds nothing (five words out of twelve being superfluous). (2) The first two words of 49:29, as well as the last six (eight out of eighteen), are unnecessary. (3) Lest 29b would not sufficiently describe the grave of Jacob's ancestors, verse 30sq. give an elaborate history of "the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite." (4) One would think that after all this description, the place of burial would be known; but our writer in 50:13 repeats the story of the cave once more. 49:32 is not mentioned, being unmistakably R's addition: but from the point of view of the unity of authorship this would furnish another interesting detail about the cave.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) Supplying the verse from the LXX. (which, being the more difficult reading, by a well accepted canon of criticism is to be preferred to the Massoretic), we have a very awkward repetition of the arrival and settlement of Jacob's family, in 47:5sq., as compared with the account immediately preceding (46:28-47:4). So awkward, indeed, that even the Massorites took the liberty of throwing out the most objectionable part and rearranging the rest. (2) 50:12sq. is another—and different—account of Jacob's burial in Canaan, from that given in 50:7-9. (2) We seem to have two accounts of Jacob's last testament about his place of burial, 47:29sq. and 49:29.

2) *Differences*. (1) According to one account (J) Joseph informs Pharaoh of the arrival of his kinsfolk; according to P (as given in LXX.) Pharaoh hears of it by rumor. (2) According to the prophetic story Joseph introduces five brothers

* This is not supplied, but comes from 48:7

(47:2); according to the priest's record, his father (47:7). This is almost a contradiction: both cannot be true in the order given; for Joseph would most naturally introduce the father first, if at all. (3) J gives the land of *Goshen* as Jacob's dwelling (47:4, 6b, etc.); P speaks of the land of *Raamses*. [The latter expression occurs, however, only *here* in P.; The LXX. has it also in 46:28b (= J). We may well suppose that the same place is meant by both terms (so Del. *in loco*); but for one writer to use them both in the same account would be strange.] (4) According to J, Joseph alone is instructed to take Jacob's remains to Canaan (47:29); according to P, all the children (49:29). (5) Each writer consistently gives the account of the burial according to the instructions: J says, "*Joseph went up to bury his father*" (50:7a); while P tells, "And his sons did unto him as he commanded them; for his sons carried him, etc." (50:12sq.). (6) According to J, there would seem to have been some difficulty connected with taking Jacob's body to Canaan. For (a) Jacob made Joseph swear to do it; (b) Joseph gets the "house of Pharaoh" (= family or courtiers) to speak for him to the king; and (c) it is granted only as a personal favor to Joseph (cf. the instruction of Joseph to his brethren (50:25) to take his bones when God will take them out from Egypt; he could not be placed in his father's grave, though he wished it so ardently). But P, as usual, knows of no difficulties; Jacob simply requests his children, and they do as told.

3) *Inconsistencies*. In 47:9, P tells us that Jacob was 130 years of age, when he arrived in Egypt. Compare, however, the following: (1) Esau married the objectionable Canaanitish women when forty years of age (26:34sq.). (2) Jacob (a twin brother of Esau, it will be remembered), soon after and because of this marriage, is sent to Paddan-aram (27:46-28:5). (3) He remains there twenty years (31:41) [*i. e.*, on *leaving* Paddan-aram Jacob is sixty or more years of age]. (4) At this period Joseph was about seven years old, since he was born before Jacob began to serve Laban for his flocks (30:25-43), in which service he remained six years (31:41); this impression is further confirmed by 33:7b. (5) Hence, when Joseph was sold at seventeen years of age (37:2), Jacob was a little over seventy. (6) But Jacob comes to Egypt about twenty-two years later, as is easily seen from 41:46, 53sq. and 45:6. (7) Therefore, Jacob was only about ninety-three years of age when he came to Egypt; at all events, he could not have been more than 100.

6. THEOLOGY.

Nothing in this material worthy of special notice.

B. Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:1-5a, 6b, 12-26, 27 partly, 29-31 (so, practically, all; but Well., Del., omit 5a; K. and S. give 12 to E; Well., Kuen., make 12-26 E or J, while Del., Kitt., JE;

Del., 27 = P²); 48:2b,9b,10a,13sq.,17-19,20b (Well., Kuen., no J in 48; Bud., 1sq., 8sq.,13sq.,17-19,20a**ab**, (אהרן...אלהים בורה) in 9 = R, or read יהוה); so Del., omitting v. 20; Kitt., 2b,8-11a,13sq.,17-19,21a (8,11a,21a partly E); K. and S., 2a,8a,9b,10a,13sq.,17-19); 49:1b-27 [*incorporated*], 33 partly (so, *practically*, all; but Well., 1-27 (*incorporated?*); Bud., 1b-28a, ויאסף...המטה in 33; so Kuen.; Del., 2-27,33; Kitt., 1-28; K. and S., 1-27 = J¹, 33 (middle part)=J); 50:[1-3(?),4-11,14,[18a,21 partly, 24 in part(?)] (so, *practically*, all; except those included in the *last brackets*, which are given to E, by Well., Kuen., K. and S., Del.; Del. says there are *traces* of J in 15-26, especially 19 (*sic?*); Kitt., parts of 18, 21sq., and 24 = J).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Joseph informs Pharaoh of the arrival of his father's family in Goshen, and introduces five of his brothers to the king, who inquires for their occupation. They tell him that they are by heredity herdsmen, and should like to settle in Goshen. Pharaoh grants their request. Joseph supports his father and family during the famine. In Egypt and Canaan this famine is very severe. Joseph extracts not only all the money and land for the royal treasury, but succeeds in establishing the law that Pharaoh should get one-fifth of all future products. As Jacob draws nigh to his death, he sends for Joseph, and causes him to swear a solemn oath that he will bury him in the grave of his fathers. As Joseph promises to fulfill this his last request, Israel bows, and, sitting up in bed, calls for [Joseph's children*] to bless them. Now, because of age, his eyes had lost their sight; and although Joseph brings Manasseh to Jacob's right and Ephraim to his left, Jacob *crosses* his hands and puts his right on Ephraim's head; Joseph attributes this to his father's blindness. He tries to change the arrangement of his father's hands, calling his attention to the fact of Manasseh's priority. But Jacob informs him that he did it deliberately, since Ephraim is to be the greater of the two. Then comes 'Jacob's blessing' of his sons, each in detail; and after finishing this, he dies. At the end of the time given to mourning, Joseph asks Pharaoh for leave of absence, to go to Canaan to bury his father, according to his oath. Receiving permission, the entire family, and many Egyptians, proceed with Joseph to perform the last rites over Jacob's remains. On his return, he takes good care of his brothers and their families, as before his father's death."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) עֶבֶר = *your humble servant* (47:3,4 twice).
 (2) נָם (with personal pronoun) (47:3,19; 48:19 twice).
 (3) גַּם....גַּם (47:3,19; 50:9).
 (4) עֵתָה (47:4; 50:5).

- (5) נָא (47:4,29 thrice; 48:9b; 50:4 twice, 5).
 (6) שִׁים (47:8b,26,29; 48:18,20b).
 (7) מְקַנָּה (47:6b,16 twice,17 four times, 18).
 (8) כָּלֵכֵל (47:12).
 (9) טָף (47:12,24; 50:8).
 (10) שָׁבַר *trade* (47:14).

* This, according to Dill. and *most critics*, has to be supplied from other material.

(11) הבה (47:15,16).

(12) נהל (47:17).

(13) אדמה (47:18,19 four times, 20,22 twice, 23 twice, 26 twice).

(14) רק (47:22,26; 50:8).

(15) על-כן (47:22; 50:11).

(16) הן (47:23).

(17) מציא חן (47:25,29; 50:4).

(18) עשה חסד (47:29).

(19) אנכי (47:30; 50:5).

(20) שית (48:14,17).

(21) רע בעיני (48:17).

(22) מאן (48:19).

(23) גרל (48:19 twice).

(24) קרא *happen* (49:1b).

(25) או (49:4).

(26) ארור (49:7).

(27) קשה (49:7).

(28) טרף (49:9,27).

(29) רבץ (49:9,14,25).

(30) דון (49:16).

(31) ארח (49:17).

(32) כרה (50:5).

(33) אָבֶל (50:10,11 twice).

(34) יהוה (49:18).

(35) שטם (49:23).

2) NEW WORDS.

(1) נָצַץ (47:2): cf. 30:38; * 33:15; 43:9; Ex. 10:24.

(2) כְּמִטָּה (47:31; 48:2; 49:33): cf. Ex. 7:28. Rather rare.

(3) גִּרְוֹן (50:10,11): cf. Num. 15:20; 18:27,30; Dt. 15:14; 16:13.

(4) תִּמְכֹּךְ (48:17): cf. Ex. 17:12. Poetic.

3) RARE WORDS.

(1) מִרְעָה (47:4): usually prophetic, but also 1 Chr. 4:39,40,41.

(2) אָפֶס (47:15,16): rare and poetic.

(3) כִּחֹר *conceal* (47:18): very rare in this sense.

(4) גִּוִּיה (47:18): prophetic.

(5) הָא (47:23): only again in Ez. 16:43; Dan. 2:43(?).

(6) חֲנַט (50:2 twice, 3,26): only in Cant. 2:13(?).

* Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) להה (47:13).

(2) זָקָן (48:10).

(3) שָׁכַל (in Pī'el) (48:14).

4. STYLE.

[Both J and E will be considered here.]

1) *Archæological references*, e. g.: (1) The origin of an ancient custom in Egypt (47:26). (2) Not only is the fact of Egyptian embalming mentioned, but some details of it are given, as (a) the physicians had charge of the work, (50:1); (b) the operation took forty days, 50:3; (c) the dead were put in a sarcophagus, 50:26; (d) the remains were not interred, but could be carried away, when desired, 50:25. (3) The Egyptians are represented as greatly given to mourning and funeral rites, 50:3b,7b,10a. (4) Also, in Jacob's "last words" (ch. 49), there are many references to traditions and stories, as (a) v. 4 refers to the incident related in 35:22; (b) v. 5sq. has in mind the raid of Shechem, as told in 34:25sq.; (c) v. 9 refers to 37:26, etc. (5) The origin of the name Abel-mizraim is explained, 50:11b.

2) *Vividness*. Only a few of the poetic touches will be noticed: (1) "Israel strengthened himself and sat upon the bed," 48:2. (2) The picture of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, 48:13sq. (3) "He gathered up his feet into the bed," 49:33. (4) "And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him and kissed him," 50:1. (5) The oriental primitive respect for parents is shown

* This word should have been noticed in connection with 30:38.

in the fact that Joseph's brothers never feared his vengeance until their father's death (cf. 27:41b). (6) What could better describe Joseph's disposition, and the generous forgiveness of all the wrongs done him, than the simple touch, "And Joseph wept when they spoke to him," 50:17b?

3) It takes the form of *stories*. Note (1) the difference between P and JE in describing Jacob's last moments (P=47:28; JE=47:29-48:2). (2) Jacob's instructions about his burial (J=47:29-31; P=49:29). (3) The reception by Joseph's children of the last words of their dying grandfather (P, 48:5; JE, 48:8-20). (4) The description of the last ceremonies over Jacob's remains (by P in his matter-of-fact style, 50:12sq.; but minutely and sympathetically by JE, 50:1-11); besides these, we have (5) Joseph's bargain with the Egyptians, 47:13-26; (6) Joseph's treatment of his brothers after Jacob's death, 50:15-21; and (7) Joseph's last days, 50:22-26.

5. MATERIAL.

[Under J, as such, we consider only 49:1b-27, upon which the following remarks must suffice.]

It is prophetic (in a more than ordinary sense) and very highly poetic, both of which facts exclude P from any claim to its authorship. On the other hand, the claim of J has for its support (1) יהודה in v. 18; (2) the glorification of Judah, as seen in (a) the fact that the first three sons receive rebuke, indeed a cursing, rather than a blessing; (b) all the rest—except Joseph—receive only a passing remark, and that mostly in the nature of a *tribal trait*, rather than in the form of a direct promise of blessing and greatness; (c) Joseph indeed receives considerable attention, but when compared with such expressions as, "Thy father's sons shall bow to thee" (thus making him the *superior* of all) and the promise of Judah's perpetual, if not everlasting, dynasty (v. 10), Joseph falls into comparative obscurity.

6. THEOLOGY.

There is nothing deserving special notice.

C. Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

47:12-26 [assigned to J, but it is on a basis of E, worked over by R, who removed it from after 41:55] (all critics are not sure about this passage as to whether it is J or E: Del. and Kitt., make it JE inseparable; K. and S., alone, give it as J (see, however, the *note* 211 on p. 112 of their *Genesis*); 48:1, 2a, 9a, 10b, 11sq., 15sq., 20 partly, 21sq., (Well., *all* E., except 3-7 = P²; Bud., (II.), 10-12, 15sq., 20a(?), 21sq.; Kuen., 1sq., 8-12, 15sq., 20-22 (13sq., 17-19 = E²; in 22 read לא בחרבי ולא בקשתי [xiv., p., 272]); Del., 10-12, 15sq., 20-22 (the rest, except 3-7 = J; Kuen.'s conjecture for 32 "very tempting;" Kitt., 1, 2a, 8, 9a, 10b, 11sq., 20-22 (8, 11, and 21

in common with J); K. and S., like Dill., but adding 20 *entirely*, and giving 8b to J); 50:1-3(?), 15-26, [except 18 and parts of 21 and 24 (= J)] (so, practically, all; but Bud., fails to analyze this chapter, Kuen., Del., K. and S., give 1-8 to J).

2. SYNOPSIS.

“[The famine being very great in Egypt as well as in Canaan, Joseph draws all the money of these countries into the royal treasury. Then, for one year’s food, he buys up all the cattle, and after that, the land of Egypt, except the property of the priests. He gives seed to the people, on condition that a fifth of all future products should belong to the Pharaohs*]. After a time, Joseph learns that his father is ill, and, taking Manasseh and Ephraim with him, he comes to Jacob. He introduces his boys, whom Jacob receives very affectionately. He blesses Joseph and his sons. He predicts that God will restore them all to the land of their fathers, [and dies].† Joseph has him embalmed; they mourn for him two months, according to the Egyptian custom. When Joseph’s brethren see their father dead, they fear that Joseph will now take his revenge. They send to tell him that Jacob, before his death, requested him to pardon their transgressions. Joseph receives the message with tears; and when his brothers come and fall before him, he assures them of his aid and protection. Joseph lives to see a third generation from Manasseh, dying at 110 years of age. Before his death, he announces the deliverance of his people from Egypt, and adjures them to take his bones along, when they go up to Canaan.”

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלהים (48:9a, 11, 15 twice, 20, 21; 50:19, 20, 24, 25).

(2) חבק (48:10b).

(3) שים (48:20; 50:26).

(4) אנכי (48:21; 50:21, 24).

(5) שטם (50:15): rare.

(6) נשא *forgive* (50:17 twice).

(7) נא (50:17 twice).

(8) חשב (50:20 twice).

(9) כלכל (50:21).

(10) נחם (50:21).

(11) טף (50:21).

(12) דבר על לב (50:21).

2) NEW WORDS.

(1) שלשים (50:23): cf. Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18.

3) RARE WORDS.

(1) פלל (48:11): nowhere else in Hex. *Rare* outside.

(2) דגה (as verb) (48:16): ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

(3) גכל (50:15, 17): nowhere else in Hex. Poetic.

4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 22, 23.]

5. MATERIAL.

1) יהוה being found only *once* (49:18), and other characteristics, such as *angels, dreams*, etc., being entirely absent, there must be some doubt about the

* This part is in common with J, see *Synopsis*, p. 21.

† This has to be supplied from other material.

prophetic writer to which some passages belong. Thus (1) 47:13-26, and (2) 50:1-3, may be classed as JE passages.

2) Two passages are clearly E, viz., 50:15-21, which presents Joseph's character in so beautiful a light; and (2) 50:22-26, which shows Joseph's prophetic insight, and records Joseph's death, giving to no other of the twelve such attention. It is worthy of notice that the name of the Deity, occurring *four* times in these *short* passages, is invariably אֱלֹהִים.

3) For the prophetic portion of ch. 49, see under J, p. 23.

4) There remain, then, to be considered (1) 47:29-48:22, and (2) 50:4-11, the latter going with the account of 47:29-31. Now, 47:29sq. is evidently J, as seen (1) by "language:" (a) אֶסְנֶנָּה; (b) חֶסֶד וְאֵמֶת; (c) שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹת; and (2) by the mode of taking an oath (*last* clause in v. 29a; cf. 24:2b). Hence, also, 50:4-11 (besides some marks of its own) is rightly assigned to J.

5) Chapter 48 has אֱלֹהִים six times, as follows: 9a, 11, 15 (twice), 20, 21, which fixes these passages, at least, as belonging to E. But the composite character of this chapter is evident from (1) 48:1 = 47:29; (2) v. 8 says, "And Israel saw the children of Joseph," etc., while v. 10a tells us, "Now, the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see;" (3) vs. 15sq. break the story of the "crossing of the hands," and an author would scarcely have arranged them so; (4) v. 20a = 19 (containing a blessing already, in which the superiority of Ephraim is also emphasized); these facts seem to indicate two parallel accounts, each quite complete and consistent with itself.

6) With this as a basis, we may note next certain differences: (1) according to E, Jacob is *sick* in his last days; not so in J. (2) J alone has the story about Joseph's oath; (3) J alone has the anecdote about the "crossing of hands;" (4) according to E, Joseph only receives Jacob's blessing, no other of the children, as J gives in ch. 49; (5) what has already been noticed, *Jacob's blindness* is known only to J.

^a6. THEOLOGY.

Only the angels, perhaps, in 48:16, need be noticed.

XVII. Analysis of Ex. 1:1-7:7.

[*Subjects:* (1) Oppression imposed by Egypt upon Israel; (2) Moses' birth, education at Pharaoh's court, first strokes for Israel, flight to Midian and marriage there; (3) God's revelation of himself to Moses at Horeb; (4) the promise of the exodus, and Moses convinced of his mission; (5) Moses at the inn, on his way to Egypt; (6) first visit of Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh, its result; (7) Moses' genealogy.]

A. Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

1:1-5, 7, 13sq. [except **בשרה** ... **בחמר** [= J or E] and **את כל עברתם** [= R]] (so *all*, except Jül., Kuen., add v. 6, and make no note of J or E traces in 13sq.); 2:23 [beginning **וַיֹּאמֶר**]-25 (so *all*); 6:2-5, 6*, 7, 10sq., 13-27 [8sq., 12, 28sq., 30a = R. Much misplacing is also due to R], 30b (as to 2 5, there is no disagreement. Well., 6-12 (but 13-30 = R or P² misplaced); Jül., 18-27, (28) belong after 2:24; then 6:2-9; Kuen., 6-8, 13-30 = R; Kitt., 2-30 = P², but he refers to Kuen.); 7:1-7 (so *all*).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Jacob's family, consisting of twelve sons, or seventy souls in all, on their entrance to Egypt, multiplied there greatly. But being much oppressed by hard labor, they cry to God, because of their burdensome toil, and God heard them. Accordingly, God reveals himself to Moses, under the name of Yahweh, telling him of the covenant he had established with the patriarchs (to whom he was known as *'El-Shaddai*), and that he had heard the cry of the children of Israel, whom he is to make his own people. Moses is then instructed to speak to Pharaoh about sending the children of Israel out of his land, to which Moses objects as being disqualified by some difficulty in his speech*.) Aaron is then made a spokesman between Pharaoh and Moses, who receives his instructions from God. They are told beforehand that Pharaoh will not listen to them until great wonders and judgments be displayed in Egypt. Moses and Aaron do as instructed; their respective ages at the time being eighty and eighty-three years."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) **נפש** = *person* (1:5 twice).
- (2) **פרה ורבה** (1:7).
- (3) **מאד מאד** (1:7).
- (4) **שרץ** (1:7).
- (5) **אלהים** (2:23, 24 twice, 25 twice; 6:2a; 7:1(?)).
- (6) **אל שרי** (6:3).
- (7) **הקים ברית** (6:4).
- (8) **אלה משפחות** (6:14, 15, 19).
- (9) **תלדות** (6:16, 19).
- (10) **שני חיי** (6:16, 18, 20).
- (11) **למשפחותם** (6:17, 25).
- (12) **נתן** (for **שים**) (7:1).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) **צִאִי יֵרֶךְ** (1:5): only again in Gen. 46:26. Hardly characteristic.
- (2) **פָּרַךְ** (1:13, 14): cf. Lev. 25:43, 53.
- (3) **יְהוָה** 6:2b, 3, 6, 7, 10, 13, 26; 7:1, 5, 6): no references are needed. P, who refrained from using this name of the Deity before Ex. 6:2, will now, with equal consistency, use it regularly.
- (4) **רֹאשׁ אֲבוֹת** (6:14, 25): cf. Num. 31:26; 32:28; 36:1; Jos. 14:1; 19:51; 21:1 twice.

4. STYLE.

It is, as always,

1) *Systematic*, as seen from (1) the résumé of Jacob's family, 1:1-5; (2) the careful use of **אלהים** up to the statement in 6:3, and the equally regular use of

* Here comes a sort of genealogy of Moses and Aaron, to which it is difficult to assign a place.

יהוה after it; (3) the statistical setting of the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, tracing them back to Israel, 6:14-26;* (4) the brief enumeration of Reuben and Simeon, which only leads up to Levi, upon whom he enlarges.

2) *Exact, numerical*: (1) "70 souls," 1:5; (2) "Levi lived 137 years," 6:16; (3) "Kehath lived 133 years," 6:18; (4) "Amram lived 137 years," 6:20; (5) "Moses was 80 years old and Aaron 83 years," etc., 7:7; (6) each family in the genealogical table begins with בני, and ends with אלה משפחות.

3) *Rigid, stereotyped*; as seen in the expressions (1) ואלה שמות בני, 1:1; 6:16; (2) אלה ראשי וגו' at the opening and closing of Moses' genealogy, 6:14 and 25b; (3) אלה משפחות summing up each subdivision, 6:14, 15 and 19.

4) *Verbose and repetitious*: (1) 1:1b is an awkward appendage, and absolutely unnecessary; (2) the rapid increase of the children of Israel is described thus, "they were fruitful, and increased abundantly and multiplied, and became mighty exceedingly exceedingly, and the land was filled with them," 1:7; (3) 2:24a adds nothing to 23b; (4) 2:25 adds little or nothing to what has been said; (5) 6:4b is unnecessary; (6) Aaron's wife was "Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, and the sister of Nahshon," 6:23 (cf. Gen. 28:9); (7) either 6:26 or 27 is wholly unnecessary.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) 1:12a = 1:7, both recording the wonderful growth of Israel; (2) 1:11 = 1:13sq., Israel's hard labor; (3) 3:7, as well as 3:9 = 2:24, God knows the oppression of his people; (4) 6:2sq. = 3:14sq., revelation of Yahweh; (5) 6:6sq. = 3:10-16, God commissions Moses to go to Pharaoh, etc.; (6) 6:30 = 6:12 (*absolute identity*).

2) *Differences*. (1) According to P, Israel's enormous growth takes place *before* the oppression comes; according to E, *after*, and *in spite* of it. (2) As usual, P is generic: he describes Israel's work simply as hard; but E tells us that they built Pithom and Rameses. (3) In J (3:7), and in E (3:9), God sees the oppression as well as hears their cry (that is, he is near); in P, he only *hears*.* (4) According to P, God listens to Israel simply because he remembered his covenant with the patriarchs; but in JE, it is his compassion for their suffering. (5) According to JE, Israel is spoken of by God as his people (3:7, 10); but in P, he is just about to make them his nation (6:7).* (6) From JE, it would seem that Yahweh was known as the God of the patriarchs (3:15); in P, this name is first revealed to Moses.* (7) P knows nothing of Moses' lack of faith; while the prophetic writers make much of it (3:11, 13; 4:1-17). (8) P knows nothing of Moses' marriage, though mentioning the wives of Aaron and Eleazar.

3) *Inconsistencies*. While most of the differences may be explained as co-existing facts, points (5) and (6) are fairly to be regarded as inconsistent.

* Even if this passage be R in its *present* form and position, its basis is unmistakably P.

4) *Cases in which R's work appears.* (1) 1:13sq. would logically come (supposing the material to have been the work of a single author), before 1:11; for, after they have once tried hard labor as a means of checking Israel's growth (1:9-11), "and to their disgust" found that "the more they oppressed Israel, the more he multiplies" (v. 12), it would be absurd for them to try the same means again (v. 13sq.). Besides, in this case, there would be no ground left for the command to destroy the infants (v. 15sq.). (2) What are we to understand by 2:23a, in the light of 1:8? Does it mean that the new king, the severe king died? If so, why should the children of Israel groan over it? It seems to refer to the king that did "know Joseph," who died before the new king. The passage, then, is out of place. (3) 6:2sq. naturally means that God *introduces* himself to Moses as Yahweh, a name by which he has never before been known. But what does that mean in the face of 3:15? Would a writer forget himself so in the same section? Would he use such language and thus contradict a former statement? (4) It is hardly necessary to show the misplacement of 6:13-28. It would seem to have been inserted there, in order to separate vs. 10-12 from 29sq., which are practically identical.

6. THEOLOGY.

As usual, in P.

1) God is *remote*. (1) the cry of suffering goes up to him, 2:23 (cf. J, "I am come down to save him," 3:8); (2) he only hears of their suffering, 2:24 (JE, he sees it as well, 3:7 and 9); (3) he only speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1 (in JE he appears visibly, 3:2sq.).

2) God's *revelation is formal*. (1) his compassion is due to a promise made to the patriarchs, 2:24; 6:4sq.; (2) there is no familiarity between him and Moses: he simply orders; there is no sign, no persuasion, as in JE.

3) There is no indication of *anthropomorphism*: this needs no enlargement, [cf. JE under this head, p. 32.]

4) The covenant with the patriarchs is emphasized. In the prophetic writers there is no mention of it.

B. Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Traces in 1:10,12,20, and 21 (Well., traces in 14; vs. 20b,22; Jül, no sure trace of J before 3:7sq.; Kuen., "in Ex. 1-11, the 'prophetic' narrative, in its present form, is due to JE, who did not simply interweave his documents in this case, but made their statements the ground-work of a narrative of his own, especially in chs. 4-11." Still J is traceable in ch. 3; Kitt., 20b,22, and perhaps traces in 14); 2:6sq. in part; *trace* in 14, then 15-22 [in 18 insert **חבב בן** before **רעואל**] (Well.,

* See under "theology" below.

vs. 6אבא, 10b, 11-22 (except 15a = E(?)); Kitt., 6, 11-14, 16-23ab (23ab by the other critics is placed with LXX. before 4:19; as for Jül. and Kuen., see preceding parenthesis); 3:3 partly, 4a, 7sq., 16 partly, 17 (Well., 1-9 (except traces of E in 4, 6 and 9) 16-18 (19sq. = R^d); Jül., 7sq. (ועתה אלהים יהוה in 2 and 4 = R^d for יהוה אלהים in v. 9, vs. 16-18 (15, 19sq. = R^d, 21sq. = R^d, or E enriched by R^d); Kuen., traces in 3:4a, 7sq. and 9a or 9b; Kitt., 2 partly (specifically 2אא), 3, 4a, 7sq. (except 8בב), 16b-22 (except parts, especially in 18)); 4:1-16*, 19, 20a, 22-29a [22sq. misplaced by R from before 10:23], 30, 31 in part (Well., 1-12 (13-16 = R^d), [2:23ab], 18, 20a, 24-26, 29-31 (27sq., ואהרן and אהרן in 29sq. = R^d); Jül., 1-12, (13-16 = R^d), [2:23ab], 19, 20a, 24-26 (21-23, 27sq., 30a = R^d); Kuen., 14-16 = R^d (see I., 150), 21-23 = R^d(?)) (see I., pp. 150, 259); Kitt., 1-12 (13-16*(?)), 19 and a statement corresponding to 20a, 24-26); 5:1sq., 5, 9, 11b, 21-23 partly (Well., 1, 4, 20 = R^d, 4, 5, 8 show traces of expansion), otherwise the entire chapter = J; Jül., 3, 4 (+ ויבא משה וזקני ישראל לפרעה, 22sq. (rest of 5 = E); Kitt., 1b, 2, 4); [6:1 = R] (Well., 6:1 = J; Jül., 6:1 = R^d).

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"... †Pharaoh hearing about it, and seeking to put Moses to death, the latter flees to Midian, where, at a well, he meets the daughters of the priest, [Hobab, son of] Reuel by name. He gallantly defends the women against some rude shepherds, and so, when their father learns of the fact, he receives Moses hospitably, and finally gives him his daughter Zipporah, who bears Gershom. [Moses sees a great vision‡], and as he turns to look at it, Yahweh tells him that he has seen the trouble of his people, and heard their cry, and that he is about to deliver them from Egypt and to bring them to a goodly land, even Canaan. Moses is accordingly sent to the elders of Israel, to whom he is to tell these good tidings. He objects that they will not believe him; but Yahweh turns his shepherd's rod into a serpent; then he makes his hand leprous and restores it again; signs which are to serve as convincing miracles. And after this if they should not believe, Moses is to overcome their unbelief by turning water into blood. Moses offers his difficulty of speech as another excuse, but he is reminded that he who sends him gives and takes away speech at his own good will, and again he is ordered to go on his mission, taking his rod with him. [The king of Egypt having died, and the troubles of his people increasing§], Moses takes his wife and children and goes back to Egypt. On the way, in an inn, Yahweh encounters him, and seeks to put him to death, but Zipporah rescues him by circumcising her son.¶ He (and Aaron)

* Here belongs 2:23ab.

† It is hardly possible to indicate the material where only traces exist.

‡ This is inserted by Dill.

§ This is rather implied than expressed in 3:3a.

¶ The matter in the brackets is supplied from 2:23ab, according to all critics, (cf. verses, preceding page).

¶ According to Dill., *in loco*, the account of Moses meeting with Aaron comes from J, and ought to find a place here.

collect the elders and inform them of what Yahweh has spoken, performing the wonderful signs before the people. They believe and thank Yahweh. Then Moses and Aaron go to Pharaoh, and in the name of Yahweh bid him let the people go out for a religious feast in the desert. Pharaoh refuses to comply, since as he says, he has no knowledge of Yahweh. He makes the labor of the people all the more difficult, that they may not turn their attention to illusions of relief. The people naturally complain that Moses has made their bondage worse, and Moses, in turn, asks Yahweh why he sent him on a mission, which seems to result in greater oppression to the nation?"

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) בקש (2:15; 4:19,24).
 (2) הרג (2:15; 4:23; 5:22).
 (3) רהטם (2:16): rare.
 (4) גרש (2:17; 6:1).
 (5) מדוע (2:18).
 (6) מהר (2:18).
 (7) הציל (2:19; 3:8; 5:23 twice).
 (8) איה (2:20).
 (9) למה זה (2:20; 5:22).
 (10) עוב (2:20).
 (11) ואל (in Hiph.) (2:21).
 (12) יהוה (3:4,7; 4:1,2,4,5,6,10,11 twice, 14,19,21 [E?], 22,24,27,28,30,31; 5:1,2 twice, 21; 6:1,8,12,28(?), 29,30).
 (13) צעקה (3:7,9).
 (14) ועתה (3:9,10; 4:12).
 (15) שמע בקול (4:1,8,9; 5:2).
 (16) שלח יד (4:4 twice).
 (17) נא (4:6,13).
 (18) כי (4:10,13).
 (19) אנכי (4:10 twice, 11,12,15,23).
 (20) גם... גם (4:10).

- (21) תמול שלשם (4:10).
 (22) חרה (4:14).
 (23) לקראת (4:14,27).
 (24) שים (4:15).
 (25) מאן (4:23).
 (26) מלון (4:24).
 (27) אז (4:26).
 (28) קדר (4:31).
 (29) שעה (5:9).
 (30) עני (3:7,17; 4:31).
 (31) חיק (4:6 twice, 7 twice).
 (32) ארני (4:10,13,22).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) דלה (2:16,19 twice): rare.*
 (2) מכאוב (3:7): poetic.
 (3) יד חוקה (3:19; 6:1 twice): cf. 13:9; 32:11; Num. 20:20.
 (4) זנב (4:4): cf. Dt. 28:13,44. Quite rare.
 (5) שלג (4:6): Num. 12:10, outside prophetic (except 2 Chr. 11:22) and poetic.
 (6) אלים (4:11): rare and poetic.
 (7) פקח (4:11): only again 23:8.
 (8) רפה let go (4:26): poetic.

4. STYLE.

[JE are considered together, as usual.]

1) Full of *stories*. (1) The terrible edict of Pharaoh in reference to the Hebrew infants, 1:15-22; (2) Moses in the bulrushes, 2:1-10; (3) his early exploits, 2:11-14; (4) flight to Midian, 2:15-22; (5) the burning bush at Horeb, 3:1-6; (6) the wonderful signs to convince Moses, 4:1-9; (7) Moses at the inn, 4:24-26; (8) the first visit to Pharaoh, and its immediate effects, 5:1-23.

2) *Vivid, dramatic*. (1) The narrative is enlivened by conversation, e. g., (a) the king's manifestoes, 1:9sq.; 1:22; 5:7-9; (b) the king and the midwives, 1:15-

* When no references are given, it is to be understood that the word does not occur again in the *Hexateuch*.

19; (c) Pharaoh's daughter disposing of Moses, 2:6b-9a; (d) Moses trying to put an end to the fight, 2:13sq.; (e) Reuel and his daughters, 2:18b, 19; (f) Moses and God, 3:4b-4:17; (g) Moses and Pharaoh, 5:1-5; (h) the overseers before Pharaoh, 5:15-18. (2) *Descriptive touches*: (a) the sister watches from afar, 2:4; (b) "And behold, the babe weeping," 2:6; (c) "and he looked this way and that," 2:12a; (d) Moses' gallant act, 2:17; (e) the reality of the serpent is better appreciated, when we are told, "And Moses fled from before it," 4:3; (f) Moses' aggravating slowness could not better be rebuked than by telling us that "Yahweh's anger was kindled"—heavenly patience even was tried; (g) Moses acts *deliberately*: he goes back to his father-in-law and takes his family along, 4:18 and 20; (h) Zipporah's prompt action, 4:25; (i) Aaron, on meeting Moses, kisses him, 4:27; (j) a terrible picture of slavery contained in the few words, "And the taskmaster's (note the term used) are urgent, saying, Fulfill your works," 5:13; (k) the reproach uttered by the beaten slaves, 5:21.

3) *Individual* rather than *generic*: e. g., (1) the hard labor is specified as the building of magazine cities, viz., Pithom and Raamses; (2) the names of the midwives were Shiprah and Puah, 1:15; (3) Moses' father-in-law was Reuel (or Jethro?), 2:18; 3:1; 4:18;* (4) his wife was Zipporah, 2:21; 4:25; (5) his son was Gershom, 2:22.

4) Marked by *puns*. (1) מִשֶּׁה = מִשָּׁה, 2:10; (2) גֵּר־שָׂם = גֵּר־שָׂם (?), 2:22; (3) יְהוָה = אֱהִיָּה (?), 3:14sq.; (4) חֲרֵב is connected with the *wilderness* (אֶרֶץ חֲרֵבָה), 3:1sq.

5) *Anthropomorphic*. (1) God himself and his angel are spoken of, apparently at least, interchangeably, 3:2a and 4b; (2) God appears as a burning flame, 3:2; (3) the customary יָרַד is used, when Yahweh has work to do on earth, 3:8; (4) Moses' repeated objections are invariably met by God, in a spirit of perfect familiarity, 3:11sq., 13-15; 4:1-9, 10-12, 13-16; (5) Moses returns to Yahweh to tell him the result of his visit to Pharaoh, 5:22a; (6) Moses' charge, "Since I came to speak to Pharaoh, in thy name, he hath evil entreated this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all," and Yahweh's answer, "Now shalt thou see what I will do"—is another example of the familiarity, referred to before.

6) *Prophetic* (= containing *religious instruction*). (1) The designs of the wicked do not succeed, 1:12, 16sq.; 1:22 and 2:3; (2) God rewards goodness, 1:21; (3) how mysterious are the ways of Providence: *Moses* is fostered by *Pharaoh's* daughter, 2:5-10; (4) God's nearness to, and interest in his people, 3:7-22; (5) God endows his messengers with supernatural powers, if their work demands it, 4:1-9; (6) God's plans may at first seem to fail, but his will prevails at last, 5:-22-6:1.

* For the *different* names, see *Material*.

5. MATERIAL.

[See under P, pp. 27, 28, and under E, pp. 34, 35.]

6. THEOLOGY.

[JE are considered here together.]

1) Cf. *Anthropomorphism* and *Prophecy*, under *Style*, above.

2) God's relation to Israel (1) does not depend necessarily on his *covenant* with the patriarchs; (2) nor does it begin at any *special* time: they are from the very beginning his nation (3:7,10) and his *first-born son*, (4:22).

3) God's *revelations* and *communications* are (1) *frequent*, (a) 3:4-4:17; (b) 4:19; (c) 21-23; (d) 24; (e) 27; (f) 6:1; (g) 12; (2) *informal* and *familiar*—this need not be enlarged.

4) As to pre-Mosaic *rites*, we have but scanty materials: (1) There is something* said about circumcision, 4:24-26. But note that (a) the *technical* term מול is not mentioned (the noun מולת is peculiar in *form*, and the phrase in which it occurs is of doubtful significance); (b) the child would seem to be one of considerable age; (c) the fact that Moses, "the man of God," neglected the ceremony is very significant; (d) Zipporah's act, and the expression "a bridegroom of blood," whatever they mean, seem to connect Moses, rather than the child, with the rite. (2) The people, "kneel and bow" to God in *patriarchal* fashion.

C. Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

1:6,8-12,15-22 [except *traces* of J in 10,12,20, also 21 = J] (Well., 11sq.,15-21 (except 20b = J, so also v. 22); Jül., (I.) 8-12,15-22 (except 20 = R); Kuen., 8-12, 15-22 = E *in general*; Kitt., 6,8-12,15-20a,21); 2:1-14 [except *parts* of 6sq., and *traces* in 14 = J] (Well., 1-10 (except 6a,7sq.,10b = J(?)); 15a(?); Jül., 1-22 except 18,22 = R); Kuen. cites the preceding authorities for this chapter; Kitt., 1-6a, 7-10,15); 3:1-3*,4b-6,9 16*,18-22* (Well., *traces* in 1-9 (e. g., v. 4 after the first clause, and vs. 6 and 9),10-15,21sq.; Kuen., 1-15 (except 4a,7sq.,9a or 9b = J), 19sq., 21sq. (apparently, but see *J in loco*, and Kuen., I, pp. 254-259 and 149); Jül., 1-6* (יהוה in vs. 2 and 4 = R^a), 9-14 (except יעתה in 9 [= J] which belongs before v. 16), and *traces* in 21sq. (15,20-22 mostly = R^a); Kitt., 1-3 mostly, 4b-6,9-16a, and in 18 at least the first words after the *athnah*); 4:17,18,20b,21,28b,31a (Well., 19,21-23*; Jül., 17,18,20b (21-23 = R^a); Kuen., like Jül.; Kitt., 17sq.,20b-23); 5:3sq.,6-8,10,11a,12-19,20sq. partly (Well., *traces*, perhaps, in 4sq. and 8; Jül., 1sq.,5-21; Kitt., 1a,3,5-23, in fact, also 6:1 (which according to other critics = R^a)). N. B.—In 5:4a and 20 read זקני ישראל instead of אהרן. So all the critics.

* The whole story is somewhat strange, and its point is quite obscure.

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

“Joseph dies, as well as his brothers and that entire generation, and a new king, who knows nothing of Joseph, arises over Egypt. Alarmed at the rapid growth of the foreign element, he subjects the children of Israel to hard slavery. But notwithstanding this, the nation multiplies greatly; the king then has recourse to the Hebrew midwives, and instructs them to kill every male child as soon as born. They, fearing God, find an excuse to let the children live, so that Pharaoh is forced to command all his subjects to throw every new-born boy into the river. A certain man of the house of Levi marries a daughter of Levi, who gives birth to a beautiful boy. She keeps him hid for three months; but, not being able to hide him longer, she places the child in a box, and puts it in the bulrushes at the water's edge. His sister is set to watch the infant's fate from a distance. Pharaoh's daughter, accompanied by her maids, comes to bathe, and, noticing the box, sends her servant to fetch it. She has compassion on the foundling, and, through his sister's ingenious intervention, he is given to his mother to be nursed. When grown, he is adopted by the king's daughter. One day Moses visits his brethren, and sees an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew. He slays the oppressor, and buries him in the sand. Next day, he tries to settle a quarrel between two Hebrews, and one of them, in his rage, charges Moses with murder; Moses at once apprehends the danger of his position,*. As he was pasturing the flocks of Jethro, the priest of Midian, his father-in-law, he led his sheep to Horeb and there an angel of God† appears to him in a burning bush which was not consumed. God calls him from the bush and informs him that the place is sacred, and then tells him that being the God of the patriarchs, he has not failed to see the oppression of the children of Israel; Moses is to go to Pharaoh and to lead them out of Egypt. If his own people will not believe his divine mission he is to tell them that *Yahweh*, their forefathers' God, has appeared to him. He is to take the elders along, and with them go to Pharaoh, and ask for permission to make a three-days' journey in the wilderness. But while Pharaoh will not let them go until God's hand has been seen in Egypt, when they do go, they will have plenty of riches, borrowed from the Egyptians. Moses is also to take his rod along with which to perform miracles. He takes leave of his father-in-law, and with the wonderful rod in hand [sets out for Egypt.]‡ The people believe him, but Pharaoh, when asked permission to make a three-days' journey in the wilderness for the purpose of holding a religious festival, tells Moses and those who are with him, to attend to their own affairs and not to disturb the people in their labor. He orders the overseers to withdraw straw from the people,

* Here, according to Dill., is a serious break. But Well.(?) and Kitt. give also a part of 15, while Jül. gives the *entire* story of *Midian*, to E.

† *Yahweh*, in the text.

‡ This is *implied* in 21a = E.

which henceforth they are to furnish for themselves; and yet they must make the same amount of brick. But since it takes time to find the necessary straw, less brick is made, and the Hebrew foremen are beaten. In vain do they complain to the king; hence they blame Moses."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) הָבָה (1:10).
- (2) גַּם הוּא.
- (3) שִׁים (1:11; 2:3 twice, 14; 3:22; 4:21; 5:8,14).
- (4) קָרָא (= happen) (1:10; 3:18 (with הָ); 5:3).
- (5) פָּרִץ (1:12).*
- (6) מְדוּעַ (1:18; 3:3b; 5:14).
- (7) טָרַם (1:19).
- (8) הִיָּה (2:1).
- (9) חָמַר (2:3) (both verb and noun).
- (10) יָלַד (1:17,18; 2:3,6 twice, 7,8,9 twice, 10).
- (11) אָרַ (2:3,4 twice; 4:9 twice [= J]).
- (12) אָמָה (2:5).
- (13) גָּדַל (2:10,11).
- (14) טָמַן (2:12): rare.
- (15) אָכַן (2:14): rare.
- (16) אָנְכִי (3:11,12,13).
- (17) עֵתָה (3:18; 5:18).
- (18) נָא (3:18; 4:18; 5:3).
- (19) ... לֹנָתָן (= permit) (3:19).
- (20) פָּן (1:10; 5:3).
- (21) לִבְנִים (5:7,8,16,18,19) (also 1:14 (?)).
- (22) פָּנַע (5:3,20).
- (23) תִּמּוֹל שְׁלֶשֶׁם (5:7,8,14).
- (24) עֵל-כֵּן (5:8,17).
- (25) אִוִּין (5:13): rare.
- (26) גַּם...גַּם (5:14).
- (27) לִקְרֹאתָ (5:20).
- (28) הִפַּט (3:6).
- (29) הָלַם (3:5).
- (30) פָּנַשׁ (4:24,27).

(31) פּוֹיץ (5:12).

(32) עֲבָרְךָ (= your humble servant) (5:15,16).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִילֶרֶת (1:15,17,18,19 twice, 20,21): cf. 35:17; 38:28; nowhere else.
- (2) צָפֹן (2:2,3): Jos. 2:4—*poetic*.
- (3) חֲרִיב (= סִינִי) (3:1): cf. 17:6; 33:6; also Dt. 1:2,6,19.
- (4) סָנָה (3:2 thrice, 3,4): cf. Dt. 33:16.
- (5) שֶׁל נַעֲלָךְ וְגוֹי (3:5): cf. Jos. 5:15).
- (6) לַחִץ (3:9 twice): cf. 22:20; 23:9; Num. 22:26 twice.
- (7) נִפְלְאוֹת (3:20): cf. 34:10; Jos. 3:5; 5:9.
- (8) רִיקָם (3:21): cf. 23:15; 34:20; also Gen. 31:42.
- (9) נָגַשׁ (3:7; 5:6,10,13,14): cf. Dt. 15:2,3—*poetic*.
- (10) שֹׁטֵר (5:6,10,14,15,19): cf. Num. 11:16; Jos. 1:10; 8:2; 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; also in Dt. 1:15; 16:18; 20:5,8,9.
- (11) קָשָׁשׁ (5:7,12): cf. Num. 15:32,33.
- (12) בָּאֵשׁ 5:21: cf. 7:18,21; 8:10; 16:20,24(?); also Gen. 34:30.

3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) Those not found again in the Hexateuch;
 - (a) גִּמְאָ 2:3 (only in Is. 18:2; 35:7; Job 8:11);
 - (b) זִפְתָּ 2:3 (Is. 34:9 twice; (c) סוּף 2:3,5 (Is. 19:6); (d) מוֹשֶׁה 2:10 (2 Sam. 22:17; Ps. 18:17).
- (2) Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα; (a) אֲבָנִים (= birth-stool) (1:16); (b) לִבְתָּ (3:2); (c) נִרְפִּים (Niph.) (5:8,17 twice).

4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J., pp. 30, 31.] E's *special* characteristics:

- 1) This writer calls Mt. Sinai *Horeb* (see under "language"), 3:1.
- 2) An angel appears unto Moses. 3:2.
- 3) Moses' name is repeated in calling, 3:4.
- 4) Fondness for "three-days' journeys," 3:18; 5:3.
- 5) Even after recording the revelation of the name *Yahweh* in 3:15sq., he continues regularly with אֱלֹהִים in the rest of his narrative, e. g., 4:20,27. [But cf. 5. "Material," p. 35.]

* Here belongs אֱלֹהִים 1:17,20,21; 3:1,4b,6,11,12,13,14,15; 4:20,27.

5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered together.]

1) *Remarks.* (1) It is freely admitted that the *prophetic* portion of this section does not show very distinctly, or even satisfactorily, a double authorship. (a) There are no duplicate stories (i. e. in a full form); (b) the language also is but a poor guide, owing probably to R's influence; (c) not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled. (2) We may, therefore, expect—what is actually the case—to find the greatest variation of opinion among critics. So, for instance, Kuen. and Kitt. pronounce the analysis of JE in the *early* chapters of Exodus, at least, almost impossible. (3) Still it must be remembered that *all* the critics find sure traces, more or less pronounced, besides long passages clearly belonging to either writer. (5) Note also that P is very marked, when contrasted with JE, which argues at least for that much of an analysis. We may now examine the material more closely.

2) *Duplicates.* (1) 3:7sq. is the same, in thought at least, as 3:9sq., both telling that (a) God heard the cry of his people; (b) and saw their oppression; (c) and so wishes to take them out from Egypt. (2) 3:11–15 contain, in brief, the elemental ideas of 4:1–16, both relating (a) Moses' reluctance to accept his mission; (b) God offering a sign (or signs) to assure him; (c) Moses objecting that the people will not believe; (d) God assuring him that they will be convinced. (3) 5:1 = 5:3, in fact, the *latter* would not mean much to Pharaoh, after he has denied any knowledge of Yahweh. (4) 5:5 is an awkward, unnecessary repetition of 5:4.

3) *Inconsistencies.* In 2:18, Moses' father-in-law is called *Reuel*; while in 3:1 and 4:18, his name is given as *Jethro*.* Are we to suppose with the *Talmud*† that he had *seven* names?

6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, pp. 147–148.]

XVIII. Analysis of Ex. 7:8–12:51.

[*Subjects*: “The rod of Aaron transformed into a serpent before Pharaoh; (2) the plague of blood; (3) the plague of frogs; (4) the plague of lice; (5) the plague of flies, after which Pharaoh begins to yield; (6) murrain of cattle; (7) the plague of boils; (8) the destructive hail-storm; (9) the plague of locusts; (10) darkness for three days; (11) plague of the first-born announced as the *last* measure; (12) institution of the Passover; (13) the first-born smitten down, and Israel hastily sent out of Egypt.]

* It should be noticed that some critics insert in 2:18 the words רַעוּאֵל before חֹוֹבֵב בֶּן. This is to *harmonize* this passage with Num. 10:29.

† Cf. *Rashi* on 4:18.

A. Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:8-13, 19-22 [except 20, from יהוה on, and 21a] (*all* agree on 8-13; as to the rest: Jül. = Dill.; so Well., but adding 23; Kuen., 19sq. (21c?), 22; Kitt. = Dill., but omitting *all* of 21); 8:1-3, 11 [from וילא on—supply לֵב פָּרַעַה]—15 (so *all*, except that Jül and Kitt. include also 11a); 9:8-12 (so *all*, except אלהים in 12 = R); 11:9sq. [9b = R, *perhaps*] (so, practically, *all*; Kuen., 9:35 belongs, *perhaps*, before 11:9sq.; Jül., Kitt., 11:9sq = P? [preferably = R]); 12:1-13, 28, מִרְעָמָס in 37, 43-49, 14-20, 50, 40, 41a (41b = 51), 51 (so, practically, *all*; but Del. [VII.], 11-13 = JE., and 1-10, 28, 14-20, 42-51 = P²; Jül. gives vs. 14-20 to P³; Well., Kuen. and Kitt., though admitting the order to have been altered by R, do not adopt Dill.'s reconstruction).

2. SYNOPSIS.

(1) "Yahweh instructs Moses and Aaron that, if Pharaoh asks for a sign, Aaron shall cast down his rod before him, and it shall become a serpent. This is done; Pharaoh's magicians do the same, and, although Aaron's rod swallows theirs, Pharaoh's mind is not affected. Then (2) Aaron is commanded, through Moses, to turn all the water of Egypt into blood. But the magicians imitating also this wonder, Pharaoh's heart is again hardened. Once more, (3) Yahweh's order comes to Aaron to bring up frogs upon the land of Egypt; but since the magicians are able to do this, Pharaoh remains obdurate. Another plague is sent (4), that of the lice, and though the magicians admit their inability to do anything more, Pharaoh is unmoved. Again (5) Yahweh's word comes to Moses and Aaron, that they take ashes which Moses is to throw towards heaven and thus transform them into boil-producing dust. In this case, the magicians are completely overthrown, the malady attacking them as well as all other Egyptians. But now (6) Yahweh himself hardens the king's heart, in order to multiply his wonders in Egypt. Then come minute regulations concerning (a) the Paschal lamb [12:1-10]*, which the people follow out as directed by Moses and Aaron [12:28]; (b) those qualified to partake of this sacrifice [12:43-49]; (c) the feast of unleaven bread [12:14-20], with which the people comply, as directed [12:50]. (7) The narrative then proceeds: 'Now, the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in Egypt was 430 years [12:40, 41a]. And it came to pass at the end of 430 years, that Yahweh brought the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt [12:51] by their hosts.'"

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) תָּנִין (= נחש in JE); (7:9, 10, 12).
 (2) מִקוֹה (7:19).

(3) נֶפֶשׁ (= person) (12:4, 15, 16, 19).

(4) זָכָר (12:5, 48).

(5) נָתַן (= שִׁים) (12:7).

* This is according to Delitzsch, who assigns 11-13 to JE.

- (6) לָרֶחַץ* (12:14,17).
 (7) וּנְכֹרֶתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ (12:15,19).
 (8) בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה (12:17,41,51).
 (9) בֶּן נָכַר (12:43).
 (10) מִקֵּנַת כֶּסֶף (12:44).
 (11) כּוֹל (12:44,48).
 (12) יְהוָה (7:8,10,13,19,20a,22; 8:1,11,12,15; 9:8, 12 twice; 11:9,10; 12:1, [11,12 = J (?)], 14, 28, 41 [R(?)], 43,48,50,51).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) שָׁחִין (9:9,10,11 twice): cf. Lev. 13:18,19, 20. Besides these, found in Dt. 28:27,35; 2 Kgs. 20:7; also in Is. 38:21 and Job 2:7 (these last two, though poetic books, have this word—it will be noticed—in the prose portions).
 (2) עֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל (*generally* with בֵּן *between*) (12:3,6,47; 16:1,2,9,10; 17:1; 35:4,20; Lev. 4:13; 16:5; 19:2; Num. 1:2,53; 8:9,20; 13:26; 14:5,7;

- 15:25,26; 17:6; 25:6; 26:2; 27:20; 31:12(?) 32:4; Jos. 18:1; 22:12,16,18,20.
 (3) כֶּסֶם (12:4 twice): cf. Lev. 27:23; Num. 31:28,37,38,39,40,41.
 (4) מִשְׁמֶרֶת (12:6): cf. 16:23,32,33; Lev. 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; twenty-seven times in Num.; fifteen times in Chr.; eight times in legal part of Ezek. In *prophets*, rarely found, and usually in a somewhat different sense or connection.
 (5) בֵּין הָעֵרֵבִים (12:6): cf. 16:12; 29:39,41; 30:8; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3,5,11; 28:4,8.
 (6) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם (12:14,17); [27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev. 3:17; 7:36; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29,31,34; 17:7; 23:14,21,31,41; 24:3; Num. 10:8; 15:15; 18:23; 19:10,21].
 (7) מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ (12:16 twice): cf. Lev. 23:2,3, 4,7,8,24,27,35,36,37; Num. 28:18,25,26; 29:1,7,12.
 (8) אֲזֹרָה (12:19,48,49): cf. Lev. 16:29; 17:15; 18:26; 19:34; 23:42; 24:16,22; Num. 9:14; 15:13,29,30.

Remarks. (1) It will be noticed that the new words in this section are strictly legal expressions; P's historic vocabulary has been exhausted long ago. (2) We find here also *three* "απαξ λεγόμενα,* (a) לָטִים (written also incorrectly לֶהִטִּים) 7:11,22; 8:3,14; (b) פִּיחַ 9:8,10; (c) אֲבַעֲבַעַת 9:9,10; but they seem to be due to the technical precision of the author (see the connections of each).

4. STYLE.

P, as usual, is

1) *Systematic.* (1) In Aaron's contest with the magicians, we should notice: (a) Aaron begins with a wonder merely (not a plague), turning a rod into a serpent; then comes the plague of blood (affecting the *water*), that of the frogs (affecting the *land*), that of the lice (attacking man and beast, but *externally*), and finally that of the *boils*, (the most horrible of eastern plagues, breaking out in man and beast); (b) the first *three* are imitated by the magicians; at the *fourth*, they acknowledge "God's finger;" at the last, they are themselves attacked by the disease and flee; (c) up to the *last*, Pharaoh remains obdurate, but when attacked by boils, he evidently would have yielded, had not Yahweh hardened his heart. (2) The real climax of the history is the institution of the passover feast, the only law given "in the land of Egypt," 12:1. This can be seen (a) from a comparison of the amount of matter given to each: while the entire narration (including the account of the exodus) contains but twenty-five verses, the details about the feast occupy twenty-nine verses (not counting 12:11-13, which belong, *perhaps*, to JE); (b) from the emphasis laid upon the keeping of the feast, 12:15b and 19b,20. (3) The laws of ch. 12 are systematically arranged (cf. *last* part of "synopsis," p. 36).

* Not used in other connections, even when repeated here.

(4) The entire section of "wonders" closes (11:9sq.) with a phrase similar to that which serves as an *introduction* (7:3-5).

2) *Minute, exact.* (1) Moses is to "stretch his hand over the waters of Egypt, over their 'rivers,' over their 'streams,' and over their 'pools,' and over all their 'ponds,'" etc., 7:19 and 8:1. (2) Moses and Aaron are to "take *handfuls* of ashes of the furnace, and throw them toward heaven in the presence of Pharaoh, that they may become boils breaking forth in blains," etc., 9:8sq. (3) What can be a better example of ritualistic precision than is found in ch. 12, to enumerate all the points of which would take pages. (4) Israel's stay in Egypt = 430 years.

3) *Stereotyped.* (1) ויעשו כן (seven times), 7:10,12,20,22; 8:3,13,14. (2) ולא כ אשר צוה יהוה (with every plague) 7:13,22; 8:11,15; 9:12. (3) כאשר צוה יהוה (or דבר for צוה) 7:10,13,20,22; 8:11,15; 12:28,50; (4) חקת עולם 12:14,17 (see "language"); (5) the exodus, like the deluge, takes place on "this very day," 12:41,51.

4) *Verbose and repetitious.* (1) 7:10b adds nothing, after the minute orders in vs. 9; (2) חרטמי מצרים in vs. 11 might be omitted; (3) the "waters of Egypt" are specified as "streams, rivers, pools," but lest this would not be enough, it is summed up in "all their ponds of waters," 7:19; (4) 8:13 is unnecessary, except the first two words; (5) 9:10 could have been disposed of with the customary "and they did so;" (6) in view of 7:3sq., 11:9sq. is superfluous; (7) 12:2b = 2a; (8) 4b is unnecessary; (9) the last clause in v. 15 means little; (10) 17b is needless after v. 14; (11) vs. 18-20 are unnecessary after v. 15; (12) all of v. 14 is useless: 40 + 51 gives everything; (13) 48b and 49 are useless after all the preceding details.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates.* (1) 7:9 starts out as if there never had been any thought of showing wonders to Pharaoh; yet 4:21 has a special command to perform all the wonders, which God has entrusted to Moses, before Pharaoh. (2) The strange phenomena of the "rod turning serpent" appears here as something entirely original, a representation which could hardly have been made by the writer of 4:3. (3) 7:19 has the air of a perfectly new order about the plague of blood, not appearing as if it had just been mentioned in v. 17. (4) Nor does this verse connect well with the execution of the order as given in 20bsq.: the command is to stretch the hand on every body of water, great and small, that they may become blood; whereas only the river (= Nile) is smitten, and its water turns to blood. (5) 21b is a clumsy addition, if not inconsistent with 20sq.; while it connects perfectly with 20a. (6) Verse 23 is a repetition of 22b, such as is not found elsewhere after the same or similar formula, which invariably ends the paragraph (except 10:28sq. coming after 27; see below), as in 7:13; 8:11,15,28; 9:7,12,35; 10:20; 11:10, nine times in all. (7) The same thing is true of 8:1-3: (a) it does not seem to imply

2:26-29; *† (b) and it does not go with 8:4. Why Pharaoh should call Moses and Aaron and ask for their prayers to Yahweh, when his own magicians show that they have the same power as the Hebrew God, is incomprehensible. (8) Assuming that we have one author writing of the *ten* plagues, we meet with a peculiar fact: seven of these have warnings, while three, (those relating to lice, boils and darkness) come without any notice. As a matter of fact, however, it has been seen that the commands relating to *blood* and *frogs* have nothing to do with their preceding announcements; hence 8:12-15, as well as 9:8-12 are perfectly regular, illustrating the general rule that in P, God's commands are formal and direct. (9) 12:21-27 cannot be considered simply Moses' repetition of God's order (12:1-14) to the people, because the instructions here given are fewer and different (see under *differences*, below) from those. It is apparently another account.

2) *Differences*. Having, then, double accounts before us, we may notice the following important variations: (1) In the prophetic account, Moses is to perform the wonders before Pharaoh without waiting for Pharaoh to ask for them, 4:21; in P, Aaron is to do them, at the request of Pharaoh, 7:9. (2) It is to be observed that P uses the word תנין *sea-monster* (Gen. 1:21) instead of נחש *serpent* as the animal into which Aaron's rod passes. But whatever the creature, it would be strange if the *same* author were to use נחש, everywhere except in this one section, 7:9-12. (3) In the plague of *blood* we have already observed the difference in extent, P having every collection of water (even "in *wood and stone*" = [probably] artificial wells and cisterns or vessels), while J and E restrict it to the Nile; the latter tell also of the "dying of the fish," of which P knows nothing. (4) In the case of the frogs: J brings them from the Nile, 7:28; P, from "streams, rivers and ponds," 8:1. (5) P has in all his "wonders" something about the magicians, developing an interesting contest between the future high-priest of Israel and the hierarchs of idolatrous Egypt; while the prophets do not know of them at all. Nor is this phenomenon due to any arbitrary division. Assuming a single author, how is it that only *four* of the ten plagues are connected with magicians? Why is it, that after the lice, *two* plagues are mentioned (those of the flies and murrain) without a word about the magicians, and that all at once, in speaking of the boils, we are again reminded of them, and that for the *last* time? (6) In the laws about the passover, without noticing the many omissions in the second account, such as (a) date of selecting and killing the lamb, (b) age and sex of the animal, (c) mode of cooking, etc.—all of which were of practical importance to the people who were to observe these instructions—the condensed(?) account contains *one* detail (אגדת אוזב) which cannot be considered a mere omission from the fuller and more detailed one.

* The Hebrew division of chapters is followed.

† The definite article in הצפרעים is not used as implying the *promised* frogs, since the generic article would be used. Cf. הצפרעים in 7:27, where they were not mentioned before.

3) *Inconsistencies*. (1) Some of the differences mentioned above amount to incongruities, such as (1), (3) and (4). (2) 11:9 says, "that my wonders may be multiplied," etc., while 11:1 says "yet one more plague will I bring," etc. As a matter of fact, after the death of the first-born (11:4-8), nothing was done in the "land of Egypt."

4) *R's free arrangement*: (1) Many of the passages mentioned under duplicates were seen to be unrelated, such as (3), (4), (5) and (7). (2) 11:9sq. could not possibly have been put in a more misfitting connection than where it is; it contradicts (see above) what precedes, it has nothing to do with what follows.* (3) But the greatest confusion is found in ch. 12: (a) vs. 11 would fit in better after 8 or 9; (b) vs. 12sq., if they belong in the *laws* at all, should follow v. 7; (c) the *stereotyped* v. 28 does not belong with 27; (d) v. 42 means little, and has no connection with 41; (e) v. 51, besides being identical with 41b, has no relation to what goes immediately before or after.

6. THEOLOGY.

1) God's revelation is formal and stiffly sublime: (1) He orders Moses and Aaron to do a certain thing, and "they did so." (2) His orders are usually the simple *fiat*: (a) "let it become a serpent," 7:9; (b) "let them become blood," 7:19; (c) "let it become lice," 8:16; (d) "let it become dust... and it shall be for boils," 9:9;† (3) He does according to his will, without warning Pharaoh of his plans.

2) God's manifestations and interventions come only when *absolutely* necessary: (1) No miracle is shown, except when Pharaoh demands one, 7:9. (2) Each succeeding plague comes only because the preceding one did not touch Pharaoh's heart. It is only after the last plague (of boils) that Yahweh hardens the king's heart, and for that there is no punishment (as in the prophetic story). (3) It would seem that God did this in order that the *exodus* might be due *directly* to his intervention, and not to Pharaoh's subjection.

3) God is *remote* from man: (1) He enters into no *negotiations* with Pharaoh; so long as he knows the king is obdurate, he sends his plagues without intermission or question. (2) On the other hand, he does not torment or vex Pharaoh, as in the representation of J.

4) The importance of Aaron is emphasized: (1) Aaron is invariably *associated* with Moses, and in all the plagues but one (the last), does the work. (2) Even in receiving the divine orders, Aaron is mentioned in the first two (6:13; 7:8), and the last two (9:8; 12:1).

5) The passover in Egypt is the *first* sacrifice recorded in P; it receives all possible emphasis.

* Well.: the Massorites have made a paragraph of these two verses by themselves.

† Cf. JE, "the rod that was *turned* into a serpent," 7:15; "they will be *turned* into blood," 7:17.

B. The Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:14,16*,25-29 (Well., 14-18 (except 15d [= R^d] and 17b to בִּירִי [= E]), 25-29; Jül., 14-17a (except 15d = R^d), 23,26-29 (25a = E, 25b = R^d); Kuen., see i. pp. 151, 259; Kitt., 14-17b, 23,25-29); 8:4-11a,16b-20,24b-28 (Well., 4-11a, (apparently, see ii., pp. 533 and 538, but without אֶהְיֶה in 4 and 8), 16-28; Jül., 4-10, 11a (except אֶהְיֶה = R^d, 11a^{ab} = P²), 16-28 (except 18b = R^d and 21-23 = E worked over by R^d); Kitt., 4-11a, 16-28); 9:1-7,13,[14-16 = R], 17-21,23b,24b,25a,26-30,34b (Well., 1-7,13 (14 = R^d), 15-21*,23c,24 (except הִכְרַת...וְאֵשׁ), 25a,26-30,33sq.; Jül., 1-7, (except כָּל in 6), 13,17sq.,23b,24 (except חִכְרַת...וְאֵשׁ), 25b-27 (except וְלֹאֶהְיֶה), 28a^{ab},29a and וַיַּחְדֵּל הַכֶּהֱנִי in 29b,31-33a, וַיַּחְדֵּל הַכֶּהֱנִי in 33b,34* (14-16,19-21,30 = R^d, 35c = R); Kitt., 1-7, 13-21,23b,27-30,33sq.); 10:1a[1b-3a = R], 3b-7, 13b, 14b, 15a, 16-19, [here belongs 4:22sq.,] 28sq. (Well., 1a (1b-3a = R^d), 3b-11, 13 (except first clause = E), 14 (except first clause = E), 15a^{ab}-19,28sq.; Jül., 1a,3a^b, 3b-6a^{ab},13 (from יִתֵּן on), 14a^{ab}, 15a (to the second הָאָרֶץ), 15b-19, (1b,2,3a to אֶלֶי, 6a = R^d); Kitt., 1-11,13b,14b-20); 11:4-8 (so *all*; except Kitt., 1sq.(?),4-7); 12:29sq.,34-36,38sq., [for v. 38, see also under E] also 21-27; (Well., 29sq.(21-27 = R^d or P³; 28 = P²; 31-39 = E); Jül., 29-31,33sq.,39 (21-27 and 42 = R^d [D²]; 28 = P²; 32,35-38 = E); Kuen., 21-27 introduced by R; Kitt., 29,30a^{ab},31-36 (*mostly*), 39; also 21-27).

2. SYNOPSIS

“Yahweh speaks to Moses: ‘Since Pharaoh’s heart is hard, meet him on the river’s bank, and tell him that, in order to let him know that I am Yahweh, I will turn its water into blood.’ Seven days after, Moses is again sent to Pharaoh to warn him that, if he does not liberate Yahweh’s people, the Nile shall swarm with frogs which shall penetrate everywhere. Pharaoh promises to allow the people to go to sacrifice to Yahweh, if he will only remove the frogs. The next day, at Moses’ earnest prayer, the frogs perish; but no sooner is relief given than Pharaoh again becomes obdurate. Again Moses is told to meet Pharaoh at the water, and to demand Israel’s release; and if this is not granted, troublesome insects (flies) will settle on Egypt, but not in Goshen, in order to show the *distinctive* nature of the penalty. Next day the threatened affliction comes, and the land suffers greatly. [Pharaoh] asks again for prayer, and Moses confidently promises that to-morrow the plague will be removed. But this time also, though relieved, Pharaoh fails to keep his promise. Once again Moses is sent to announce a murrain of all the domestic beasts of the *Egyptians*, while the Hebrews lose none. Pharaoh, learning this fact, refuses to send away the people. Again Pharaoh is warned of the approach of a very heavy hail-storm, which will destroy every-

* This analysis seems hardly satisfactory from any point of view. Portions of vs. 15,17sq., perhaps, belong to J.

thing left exposed to it. Some of the Egyptians, fearing Yahweh's word, shelter their cattle; while others heed not, and when the calamity comes, everything in the fields is destroyed. Goshen alone escapes the storm. Pharaoh now acknowledges his guilt, and asks again for prayer, which Moses promises, though knowing that the repentance is not genuine. [But when the hail ceased*], Pharaoh and his court harden their hearts as before. Then Moses is sent to announce the plague of locusts; this announcement makes Pharaoh's court yield (10:7). Next morning, the insects come like clouds, and lay waste all that had remained after the hail. Pharaoh now summons the Hebrew leaders in haste, acknowledges his sin, and humbly begs forgiveness and intercession with Yahweh. The wind which brought the locusts is turned in the opposite direction, and not one of them is left in Egypt. Pharaoh summarily dismisses Moses, threatening him with death, if he ever dares to come into his presence again. Moses, however, is not at all disconcerted; he had already the message from Yahweh to deliver, concerning the death of the *first-born*.* Having told the monarch that his servants would at midnight come to urge the people to depart, Moses leaves the palace in anger. [In the meantime, the people are instructed through their family-heads to prepare the passover lamb, and to sprinkle its blood on the door-posts that Yahweh might know their houses and pass over them when smiting Egypt.] At midnight, Yahweh strikes down *all* the first-born, high and low, and even of the cattle. A great alarm prevails in Egypt, and the Israelites depart hastily,* having borrowed silver and golden vessels as well as clothing from their Egyptian neighbors. Also many strangers(?) and much cattle go up with them. Not having had time to prepare food for the way, and their dough not having had time to become leaven, they bake unleavened cakes.?"

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) כֹּאֵן (7:14,27; 9:2; 10:3,4).
 (2) יְהוּה (7:14,16,17 twice) [E(?)], 25,26 twice; 8:4 twice, 8,9,16 twice, 18,20,22 [E(?)], 23 [E(?)], 24(?) 25 twice, 26, 27; 9:1 twice, 3, 4, 5 twice, 6, 13 twice, 20, 21, 22 [E(?)], 23a [E(?)], 23b, 27, 28, 29 twice, 30, 33 [E(?)]; 10:1, [2,3=R], 7, [8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 = E(?)], 16, 17, 18, 19, [20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27; 11:1,3 = E(?)], 4,7; 12:23 twice, 27, 29, 31 [E(?)], 36, 42(?).
 (3) לְקִרְאָת (7:15).
 (4) קִטָּה (7:28).
 (5) עֵתֶר (8:4,5,24,25,26; 9:28; 10:16,18).
 (6) צֶעֶק (8:8; 11:6; 12:30).
 (7) עַל דְּבַר (8:8).
 (8) שִׁים (8:8,19; 9:5,21).
 (9) בָּאֵשׁ (8:10).

- (10) הַשֶּׁכֶם (8:16; 9:13).
 (11) רֶק (8:5,7,25; 9:26; 10:17).
 (12) יִסֵּף (8:25; 9:28,34; 10:28,29; 11:6).
 (13) פָּעַם (8:28; 9:14(?),27; 10:17).
 (14) מִקְנֶה (9:3,4 twice, 6 twice, 7,19,20,21; 10:26; 12:38).
 (15) אֲנֹכִי (7:27; 8:25).
 (16) חָדַל (9:29,34).
 (17) טָרַם (9:30; 10:7; 12:34).
 (18) מָהֵר (10:16).
 (19) נָשָׂא (= forgive) (10:17).
 (20) נָא (10:17).
 (21) הַשְׁמֵר לָךְ (10:28).
 (22) נָתַן לִי (= permit) (12:23).
 (23) קִידָּר (12:27).
 (24) גִּרַּשׁ (12:39).

* Here (8:16) the other critics are followed.

(25) התמהמה (12:39).

(26) הַיָּאֵר (= Nile) (7:25,27; 8:5,7).

(27) עֹזֵב (9:21).

(28) חָרַר (7:28): rare.

(29) אֲרָמָה (8:17).

(30) צָבַר (8:10).

(31) תָּלַל (8:29): very rare.

2) NEW WORDS.

(1) נָגַף (7:27; 12:23,27): cf. 21:22,35; 32:35; Dt. 28:7,25; Jos. 24:5. In P only Lev. 26:17.

(2) מִשְׁאֲרֵת (7:28; 12:34): cf. Dt. 28:5,17.

(3) פָּלָה (8:18; 9:4; 11:7): cf. 33:16. Outside only in Ps. 4:4; 17:7; 139:14.

(4) יָסַר (9:18): cf. Jos. 6:26 prophetic and poetic.

(5) כָּסַה עֵין הָאָרֶץ (10:5,15): cf. Num. 22:5,11.

(6) חָרַץ לֶשׁוֹן (11:7): cf. Jos. 10:21.

(7) חָרַי-אֶף (11:8): cf. Dt. 29:23. Rare.

3) WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

(1) רוּחָה (8:11): only in Lam. 3:36.

(2) עָלַב (8:17 twice, 18,20 twice, 25,27): only again in Ps. 78:45; 105:31.

(3) פָּרוּת (8:19): see Ps. 111:9; 130:7; Is. 50:2.

(4) סָלַל (9:17): prophetic and poetic.

(5) עָוֹן (Hiph.) (9:19): Is. 10:31; Jer. 4:6; 6:1.

(6) סָפָה (12:22 twice): in the sense used here, very rare.

(7) פָּסַח verb (12:13(?), 23,27): quite rare, as verb.

4. STYLE OF JE.

It is marked by

1) *Variety*. [We notice this point the more because (a) the prophets describe *similar* events to those of the priest, and (b) certain elements in each story are, so to speak, constant; such as 1) the sending to Pharaoh; 2) the warning; 3) the result on Pharaoh's disposition.] We observe, then: (1) Moses is told to meet Pharaoh, sometimes at the Nile, often simply in his court;* (2) even the *solemn warning* has quite a number of variations;* (3) Pharaoh's obduracy is thus varied: (a) "Pharaoh went to his house, neither did he lay even this to heart," 7:23; (b) "But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart,"† 8:10a; (c) "Pharaoh hardened his heart this time also," 8:28; (d) "The heart of Pharaoh was stubborn," 9:7; (e) "he and his servants hardened their hearts," 9:34; (f) "Pharaoh orders Moses to leave him, and never see him again," 10:28; (4) The execution of the orders, instead of the rigid formula, "And they did so," usually has a brief description of the act; but never an exact repetition of the command.

2) *Vividness*. Although there is not what may be strictly called a story in this material, there is the light and sprightly tone which characterizes prophetic narrative. (1) *Conversation* enlivens the story: (a) Moses' warnings, see 7:16sq., 25-29; 8:16-19; 9:1-5, 13-19; 10:1-6; 11:4-8; (b) his negotiations with the king after each plague, as 8:4-7, 21-25; 9:27-30; 10:8-11, 16sq., 24-26; (c) even the law of the passover is given in connection with the announcement of the death of the Egyptian first-born, and of the Hebrew escape, 12:21-27. (2) Human nature is well illustrated: (a) Pharaoh promises when in trouble, but withdraws the promise as soon as relief comes; (b) some souls were timid enough to shelter their

* It would take altogether too much space to point out these shades of variety in detail, which such a small point would not deserve. But the reader in the *original*, if he be at all critical, cannot help noticing them.

† It should be noticed that J uses כָּבַד, where P uses חָזַק, for *hardening*.

cattle, 9:20; (c) Pharaoh's servants would fain get rid of the troublesome Israelites, 10:7. (3) "Repartee" even is noticeable in Moses' retorts: (a) to the question, "Who are they that shall go?" the reply is, "Young and old, sons and daughters, flocks and herds," 10:8sq.; (b) to Pharaoh's proposition, "Go all of you, but leave your flocks and herds," Moses says, "Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices, that we may sacrifice unto our God!" 10:24sq.; (c) when ordered "never to see Pharaoh's face again," he answers, "Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more," etc., 10:28sq. + 11:4-8. (4) Note also the following particularizations for the sake of emphasis and vividness: (a) "I will smite with the rod which is in my hand... and the water shall be turned into blood," 7:17 (the idea being, that though by so simple an instrument, this strange thing will be accomplished); (b) in P the command is simply to "bring frogs upon Egypt," 8:1b; but it seems much more vivid, when we are told, "The frogs shall come into thy house and into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed... ovens and into thy kneading-troughs; and they shall come upon thee..." 7:28sq.; (c) in a similar way the plague of flies described, 8:17; (d) the *murrain* is greatly enlarged by the specification of "horses, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep," 9:3; (e) the Egyptian darkness becomes frightful indeed, when we learn that "they could not see one another, neither rose any from his place for three days," 10:23. (5) Descriptive touches: (a) the Egyptians' actually digging for water, depicts the desperate situation as no words could, 7:24; (b) the enormous number of frogs could not better be shown than by noting that "they were gathered together heaps upon heaps, so that the land stank," 8:10; (c) what could be a more poetic description of terrific lightning than "fire running down unto the earth" 9:23? (d) could all the numbers of P give us such an idea of the multitude of locusts, as does the phrase, "they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened"? 10:15 [cf. Joel 2:2]; (f) the darkness must have been very great, when "it could be felt," 10:21; (g) the change in Pharaoh's attitude which the last plague is to bring about, is well described, "*after* that he will utterly thrust you out hence altogether," 11:1; (h) the universality of the plague of the first-born, is poetically told in the words "from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon the throne even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill," or "unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon" (note the variety), 11:5; 12:29; (i) the freedom of Israel from calamity is shown thus, "Not a dog shall move his tongue," 11:7.

3) *Dramatic presentation.* [While the prophetic material is *essentially* the same as that of P, the latter's characters act in a mechanical way, the order is stereotyped: Moses is charged to bring a plague; Aaron executes the order; the magicians try to work the same wonder; Pharaoh remains obdurate. Animation, on the other hand, characterizes even this, the most common-place of the JE sections.] Note, e. g., (1) the progressive change in Pharaoh's attitude: from (a) utter

indifference (7:23), he comes (b) to offer permission to serve God in Egypt (8:21); (c) he then allows the men to go into the desert (10:11), but being still further pressed he would (d) hold back only the cattle (10:24), until finally (e) he gives full, unqualified liberty (12:31sq.). This, of course, is according to E; but even in J, the following development is noticeable: from simply (a) asking for prayer (8:4,24), he begins (b) to acknowledge his sin (9:27) and (c) to beg for forgiveness (10:17).^{*} (2) What a vivid picture is presented in ch. 10! (a) Moses and Aaron come to Pharaoh's court, and boldly demand the freedom of their nation, threatening a most destructive invasion of locusts, if this is not granted; (b) they depart, and the courtiers advise the king to let the people go, since his refusal brings ruin to Egypt; (c) the Jewish leaders are brought back, and a diplomatic negotiation ensues; (d) but since they, firm in their faith in God, flatly refuse all compromise, Pharaoh rudely drives them out; (e) next morning, Egypt is enveloped in a cloud of locusts, and the king hastens to beg pardon and to ask for prayer; (f) but no sooner is the plague removed, than he orders Moses out of his presence, under penalty of death. (3) The vivid picture of the "last night in Egypt," as given in 12:29-34, would furnish a theme for an artist's brush; we shall not attempt to point out the details.

4) *Anthropomorphism*. [Cf. "theology, p. 48.]

For "material" and "theology," see under E, p. 48.

C. The Element of E.

I. VERSES ASSIGNED.

7:15 partly [לנחש **נהפך** **אשר** = R], 16 in part, 17b, 18 partly, 20 in part, 21a, 24 (Well., 15b, 17b, 20 (from **וירם** on), 21a, 24; Jül., 17 (from **מכה** on), 18, 20 (from **וירם** on) 21a, 24, 25a; Kuen., (I., p. 151) rests on Dill and Jül. as far as they agree; Kitt., 17sq., 20a, 21a, 24(?)); 8:16a 21-24a (Jül., 21b-23*; all the rest give nothing to E in this chapter); 9:22, 23a, 24a, 31sq., 35 (so Well., except placing 24a (beginning **ואש**) in 22 (before **בכל ארץ**); Jül., 22, 23a, 24a beginning **ואש**), 28a, 35ab (35a = R); Kitt., 22, 23a, 24-26 (referring to Well.). 31sq., 35a); 10:8-13a, 14a, 15 partly, 20-27 (Jül., 7-13a (to **מצרים**), 14a (to **מצרים**), 15a (from **ויכל**, except **הכרר**... **אשר** = R¹), 20-29; Well., 12, 13a (to **מצרים**), 14a (to **מצרים**), 15a (from **ויכל**), 20-23, 27; Kitt., 12, 13a, 14a, 21-29); 11:1-3 (so all, except Kitt., 8); 12:31, 33, 37b, 38 (Well., 31-39 (except 37a = P²), 42; Jül., 32 35-38 (37 = P² in part); Kuen., like Dill.; Kitt., 30a, perhaps parts of 32 and 35, 37 (except the trace of P²), 38).

^{*} At first sight, this may seem a contradiction to what was said in reference to P, viz., that there is a systematic arrangement of his material, in bringing out the plagues in increasing order, and the power of the magicians in correspondingly decreasing ratio, so as to develop Aaron's contest. But the point here is that in P, there is no real advance made as regards the exodus, the real point at issue; Pharaoh is obdurate from beginning to end, without the slightest shadow of change, not even the language in describing his obstinacy being varied. Then, again, at last, when we expect the king to yield, nothing of the kind happens. Yahweh simply intervenes, and leads the people out by omnipotent command.

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

“Moses, in accordance with his warning to Pharaoh that God* would pollute the river, strikes it with his rod, in the presence of the king and his court, and its water turns into blood and its fish die; the Egyptians cannot use the water, and are compelled to dig wells near the river to obtain drinking water. ([When this was followed by another plague†], Pharaoh offers to let the people sacrifice to their God in Egypt. But Moses insists on a three days’ journey in the wilderness, on the ground that the Egyptians would not allow animals (which they worship) to be slaughtered before their eyes‡). Again, instructed by God,§ Moses stretches forth his rod toward heaven, and a terrific hail and thunder storm, intermingled with heavy lightning, breaks out, destroying herb and tree, as well as the ripening flax and barley. But as the late wheat and rye are undamaged, Pharaoh takes courage and does not let Israel go. Still Moses and Aaron are again brought before Pharaoh and he asks them, ‘Who of the people are to go?’ Moses distinctly answers, ‘We must all go; young and old, male and female, man and beast.’ The king in a threatening tone offers to let the men go, and rudely dismisses them. So God|| instructs Moses to stretch out his hand and bring a plague of locusts over the land of Egypt. At the waving of Moses’ rod, an east wind brings the locusts, which destroys all vegetation in Egypt. This time God|| hardens Pharaoh’s heart, and he will not let Israel go. Then Egypt is enveloped in thick darkness for three days, while in the quarters of the Hebrews there was light. Pharaoh calls Moses, and offers to let all the people (including children) go to serve God.|| but their flocks and herds shall remain. Moses tauntingly replies, ‘Thou must give us offerings for our God, our cattle must accompany us.’ Pharaoh is unwilling to yield. Moses is told that the exodus is near: one more plague, and Pharaoh will drive them out. He is, therefore, to instruct the people to borrow from their Egyptian neighbors silver and golden vessels, for which God|| gives them favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. God’s promise is fulfilled: [the first-born die¶], and Pharaoh sends in the night to tell Moses and Aaron to take the children of Israel with all their effects and go to worship as they wished. The Egyptians hasten to send the people, for fear they may all die. Israel moves to Succoth,** six hundred thousand strong, besides children and strangers.”

* There is no formal mention of אֱלֹהִים; in fact, יְהוָה prevails.

† This is supplied according to Dill.: but Jül. thinks the account of flies a compound of J and E. (See “analysis.”)

‡ The entire *parenthesis* is only according to Dill. and Jül., the other critics have no E in ch. 8.

§ יְהוָה in the *text*.(?)

|| Again יְהוָה in the *text*.

¶ This has to be supplied from J.

** This = 12:37a, which is not assigned in the analysis.

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) הַיָּאֵר = Nile (7:15,17,18 thrice, 20 twice, 21 thrice, 24 twice).
 (2) בָּאֵשׁ (7:18,21).
 (3) לֵאמֹר (7:18): rare.
 (4) שִׁית (7:23; 10:1(?)).
 (5) חִפְּרָה (7:24).
 (6) רֶקֶק (8:24; 10:24).
 (7) חִדְלָה (9:33,34).
 (8) טָף (10:10,24; 12:37).
 (9) נָא (10:11; 11:2).
 (10) בָּקַשׁ (10:11).

(11) גֵּרַשׁ (10:11; 11:1 twice).

(12) קָרִים (10:13 twice).

(13) אֲנִי (+ personal pronoun) (10:25; 12:31,32).

2) NEW WORDS [all but the last, rare].

(1) וָאֵשׁ מִתְּלַקְחָת (9:24): only in Ez. 1:4.

(2) פִּשְׁתָּה (9:31 twice): again only in Is. 42:3; 43:17.

(3) גִּבְעֹל (9:31): nowhere else.

(4) נִתְּן (9:33): prophetic and poetic.

(5) אִפְּלָה (9:32; 10:22): poetic.

(6) גִּבֹּר (10:11; 12:37): cf. Num. 24:3,15; Dt. 22:5 twice; Jos. 7:14,17,18.

4. STYLE.

[See under J, p. 43.]

5. MATERIAL.

This may be indicated in the form of *remarks*:

1) In general, the prophetic writers in the early portion of Exodus, as was the case in the first 20 chapters of Genesis, are so closely *combined* as to be scarcely distinguishable.

2) In this section, the name of the Deity is *exclusively* יְהוָה,* which must have been substituted by R in all the E passages; or else, even E uses this name in this section, on the strength of 3:15, where Yahweh is revealed,

3) According to Kuenen (l. p. 150 (?)), in the first eleven chapters of Exodus. RJE not only interwove the documents, but constructed a narrative of his own on them as a basis only.

4) As this hypothesis explains the great variety of opinion that prevails among critics; it also helps us to understand that, at best, we may find but traces or partial stories, of each writer. These traces are determined by the usual mode of investigation adopted hitherto, viz., of *repetitions*, *differences*, etc.

5) Of *repetitions*, the following points may be noticed: (1) the proper name, "Pharaoh" is repeated in such close proximity in 7:14 and 15, as to attract attention. In all subsequent dealings with the king, his name (or title) is mentioned but once, and afterwards some pronoun; but here it reads, "the heart of Pharaoh is stubborn, he refuses to let the people go; get thee to Pharaoh," etc. It would appear that the last phrase is from a different source. (2) 7:24b = 21a. (3) 9:24a = 23a. (4) 9:25b is awkwardly consolidated with 25a; for (a) it would be almost an anomaly for the prophet to add, "And the hail smote every herb of the field and brake every tree of the field," after the general statement, "And the hail smote throughout all Egypt all that was in the field;" and (b) the repetition of הִכָּה is very strange. (5) 9:31sq. are evidently a different *version* of 9:25; for

* The only place where אֱלֹהִים occurs is 8:15 [= P], in the expression "God's finger." But since it is in the mouth of the *magicians*, it would seem to mean nothing more than "super-human," without reference to the "God of the Hebrews."

(a) they do not go with v. 30; it would be absurd for Moses to mention such facts; (b) after the general statement of 25a, and the particular one in 25b, vs. 32 would be almost a contradiction. (6) 10:13b = 13a + 14a. (7) 10:15b = 15a. (8) The writer of 11:8 would not consistently make Pharaoh send for Moses (12:31), but would probably represent him as going to him in person. In fact, 12:30 begins in that strain, but seems to be interrupted by¹ the other account.

6) Points (5) and (8) above, may be considered not only as duplicates, but also as different representations of similar facts.

7) *Two* plagues have but *one* prophetic version: (1) the frogs were sent only according to J, (2) darkness came only according to E. This assignment is supported by the following facts: (a) the first goes with the warning in 7:26-29, which bears the stamp of J; while (b) the second falls in with the gradual yielding of Pharaoh (see 10:24, in comparison with 10:10sq.); then (c) the three days of darkness, would properly belong to E.

6. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS,

The following remarks will suffice:

1) God enters into negotiations with Pharaoh; "if he does not send," etc., the plague comes; Yahweh does not seem to know the result until Moses has conferred with the king.

2) Moses is perfectly sure that Yahweh will do as he desires him to do; cf. 8:5sq., 25; 9:29.

3) Yahweh seems to take especial pleasure in displaying his power: (1) He almost always foretells what he is going to do, 7:17, 27; 8:17; 9:2sq., 18; 10:4; 11:1; (2) He often appoints the exact day, and even the hour, when his promise is to be fulfilled, 9:5, 18; 10:4; 11:4.

4) Most of the miraculous plagues are more or less due to natural agencies: (1) the blood is only in the Nile, which often turns red; cf. P, who makes *all* water, even in artificial basins, turn red; (2) the frogs come from the Nile, their natural home,* 7:28; (3) the flies are simply sent, not created like the lice (8:12sq.), and we know how common such visitors are in the East; (4) a murrain of cattle, destructive hail, locusts, and even darkness, are more natural and common than "a few *handfuls* of ashes which *become* boils;" (5) a wind blowing for twenty-four hours bring the locusts, 10:13.

5) Yahweh encourages stealing (at least plundering) goods of the Egyptians, which are to be gotten only by lying, 11:2sq. Moreover, the asking for a three days' journey only (8:23) was, under the circumstances, not an honest request.

6) The necessity of indicating the Hebrew houses by blood upon the door-post, is hardly compatible with the idea of an omniscient Deity.

7) Passover is barely mentioned, as a commemoration of the last plague, 12:25-27. [Mazzoth, also, and the setting firstlings apart, in 13, are only memorials.]

* P makes *Moses bring* them, 8:1.

ON THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF EDUARD GLASER'S EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

BY PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL,

Munich, Germany.

As I propose to write for this journal a number of short articles on the importance of the South Arabian inscriptions for the study of the Old Testament, I send now a general survey of the material, from which can be seen how rich are the results which are still to be expected from the old ruined cities of the Sabæan empire. The name at the head of the article is that of Dr. Eduard Glaser, which connects itself with the greatest additions, in recent times, to our knowledge of the history of ancient Arabia. This traveler, in his three journeys (1883, 1885 and 1887) has not only collected far more inscriptions—the number amounts to 1032—than any of predecessors,* but he has explored, geographically, countries until now almost inaccessible—especially Mârib itself, the ancient Saba—in a way in which no other explorer has been able to do. It is to be hoped that he will be able to publish, at an early date, his different materials, so as to bring them before the eyes of scholars. He has already made a beginning in his *Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von der ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad*,† of which the first 102 pages are now in print. Many of these sketches were given to friends and colleagues at the Oriental congress in Stockholm. One can see from the contents of the first volume the vast amount of new material contained in it. The index of the first six chapters in pages 3–102 is, viz.: (1) The date of the South Arabian inscriptions [settled with certainty for the first time, by Glaser, by which, at the same time, a clever conjecture of Joseph Halévy is also confirmed]. (2) Jewish and Christian inscriptions. (3) The kingdom of the Minæans. (4) The fall of the Minæan [circa 900 B. C.] and the rise of the Sabæan empire. (5) The Mâkarib [plural of the singular Mukarrab] of Saba, the founding of Širwâh and Mârib. (6) The kings of Saba; the first appearance of the Ḥabashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; the kings of Hadramaut.

When one remembers that, from Arabian sources, everything pre-Mohammedan comes from the very dim Arabian traditions of the last century before

* Among these, Joseph Halévy, had done the most before Glaser's time. He copied 686 inscriptions in South Arabia, among which are the numerous Minæan inscriptions from the so-called Dschöf.

† Not yet to be obtained from booksellers. The whole (over 200 pp.) will probably appear before the end of this year.

Mohammed,* and that the much more important notices in the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions offer very little compact information. and when one compares with this what the most learned and trusted scholar in this department has been able to accomplish toward the clearing up of Arabian history,† he is greatly astonished and compelled to give most ample acknowledgment to that man, who, at the risk of his life, has more than doubled the number of available inscriptions, and, who, at the same time, is in a position, on account of his historical and philological knowledge, to draw the conclusions from these new inscriptions and thus introduce a new epoch, not only in the study of Sabæan antiquities (as one of the most important branches of the Semitics), but also in the study of ancient history in general.

Jealousy and envy, which always show themselves, where any really great thing is accomplished, may, perhaps, also diminish this last-mentioned service of Glaser, viz.: his happy interpretation of his inscriptions, for one can say that it is not strange that he, with so much new material, can make additions to the old views. Even if this were so, Glaser would have enough fame left. The one chapter, viz., the empire of the Minæans, pp. 46–55, is sufficient, however, to show that Glaser knows how to deal, in a different way from all his predecessors, with material, which has long been known (already by Halévy in 1870), and so no one has the right to make more of Glaser's activity in exploring than of his scholarship. In my opinion, Glaser has proved, with conclusive reasons,‡ in this chapter, that the Minæan empire§ antedated that of Saba, and was not contemporaneous, as D. H. Müller has accepted up to this time, and also that the greatest part of the Minæan inscriptions—and of course the seventy-three smaller inscriptions|| recently brought by Euting from North Arabia—indicate a much higher age, or in other words, they are to be placed between 1000–2000, B. C.

Up to this time three great periods of history have been accepted in regard to South Arabia, viz.: 1) that of the Makârib, or priest kings;¶ 2) that of the real kings of Saba and finally, 3) that of the kings of Saba and Dhû-Raidân (from about 100 A. D. on), in which the Dhû-Raidân were directly identified with the Himyarites of Arabic tradition. Along with the kings of Saba (especially also

* Some short, mutilated notices in old Arabian poetry are more reliable, as they date from contemporaries; they are, however, too disconnected to be brought forward as of any value.

† Cf. article on Yemen, by D. H. Müller, of Vienna, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 24.

‡ In one of my following articles, I will call the attention of the readers of this journal to the particulars.

§ The ancient—from a linguistic as well as orthographical stand-point—inscriptions, which Halévy brought back from Dschöf, give an account of the Minæans.

|| Among which are about a dozen each containing a fragmentary text of circa 5–8 lines; the others are either very fragmentary or consist of only 1–2 lines of proper names. Cf. now the edition of D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler* (Vienna, 1889), pp. 21–55.

¶ D. H. Müller reads the sing. Mukarrab (or Mukarrib, i. e. = the one blessing = the priest) incorrectly Mukrab and translates "the honored" (north-arab. Mukram.) which is impossible from a grammatical stand-point, as Glaser pointed out in 1886 in his *Mittheilungen*.

Saba and Dhû-Raidân) reigned* as hostile brothers, the Minæans in Dschôf, lying north of Mârib. Glaser proves, as shown above, a fourth great period of history, viz.: that of the Minæans before the rise of Saba. Again he proves from dated inscriptions (whose era is definitely settled at 115 A. D.), that a short time before 300 A. D., the kings of Saba and Dhû-Raidân still reigned; further, from the number of these kings and the probable lengths of their reigns, that the first of them is to be placed about the time of Alexander, the Great, in all probability 100 years earlier, and that Dhû-Raidân and the Himyarites can, by no means, be regarded as the same. Finally, in addition to the proposal of a new Minæan period before the beginning of the Sabæan, he adds an unexpected period to the history of Saba, viz.: a fifth, that of the "kings of Saba, Dhû-Raidân, Hadramaut and Yemen" [and especially "and the Arabs in the mountains and the Tihâma"] whose dated inscriptions render possible a most exact chronology. Although this period is the youngest, it is also the most interesting, because the texts belonging to it are much more complete,† and for the first time Judaism and Christianity make their appearance. Already in 1884, it had been conjectured that the expression Raḥmânân (i. e. Raḥmân, merciful, with article = North Arabian al-raḥmân, pronounced ar-raḥmân) occurring here and there in the inscriptions—always in pieces where the usually occurring names of the heathen gods are wanting (Derenbourg)—pointed to monotheism and perhaps to Judaism. This has been proved to a certainty now by a number of new inscriptions, all of which date from the fourth and fifth centuries, A. D. In these is found, in addition to the expression "the merciful," still another, viz., "the [one] God, Lord of the heaven [and the earth]," from which one can see the expressions ar-raḥmân and allâh (al-ilâhu, "the god" = South Arabian ilân) are much older than the time of Mohammed. That we have to do with Judaism here, is plainly shown from a fragment, Gl. 395 (*Skizze*, p. 13), of the same date, where we read, "[in the name of the Lord] of the heavens and Israel." Now, for the first time, the traditional news that the South Arabian king Dhû Nu'âs, killed in 515 A. D., was a Jew, is placed in its true historical light, for already some time before his reign, Judaism had found its way into the land. Again the Jews now living in Yemen, according to their own traditions, as Glaser informs me, emigrated from Palestine before the Christian era, and hence this influence does not appear so astonishing.

Christianity also gradually gained an entrance into South Arabia, but not in so active a state as in Axum (Abyssinia). Already under the Emperor Constantius (337-361), Christian missionaries worked with success in Yemen, at least they gained the permission to build three churches in Saba. We find also, in Ethiopic inscriptions, a king who adds to his own title that of king of the "Him-

* D. H. Müller in his *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*.

† One, for example, has 102 lines (cf. Glaser 407 and 410).

yarites, of Raidân, the Ethiopians, Sabæans," etc. Up to date, we have regarded the ruling of Axum over South Arabia as only nominal, without being able to say anything certain as to its beginning, its real spread and its end. Glaser proves in chapter two, that it is king Aizanas, mentioned in this Axum inscription, who for a short time (between 360-378) actually conquered the Sabæan empire. Christianity was probably introduced into Yemen at this time, since Glaser has proved that Aizanas was the first Christian Abyssinian king.* But already 378 we find another native king in South Arabia, who was not a Christian, but perhaps monotheistic. This non-Christian (Jewish) monotheism remained in the country probably to 525 A. D. There were, however, some Christian settlements, part of which, according to Glaser, belonged to the Ethiopian empire and part were under its protection. The molestation of one of the Christian communities (Nejrân) by the Jewish rulers, gave occasion to the entrance of the Abyssinians in 525, by which the king of Yemen, Dhû Nu'âs lost his throne and life. From this time on, Christianity became a state religion in South Arabia. One of the longest and most complete of the inscriptions of Glaser (Gl. 553, 555, 556 and 618), which is placed in the time of Ramḥis Zû-bi-Yaman,† the successor of the Axum conqueror, and, in which the Axum vice-king Abraha, celebrated on account of his journey on elephants against Mecca, is mentioned, begins with the words (*Skizze*, p. 4), "In the power and help and mercy (רחמת) of the all merciful (רחמן) and his Messiah (ומסחהו) and of the holy ghost." The inscription is dated in two places, 657 and 658 of the above-mentioned era, which according to Glaser, corresponds to 542 and 543 A. D. That many contemporaries of Abraha, known to us from Arabic tradition, e. g., Harîth ibn Galaba, are mentioned, and that there is also mention of a king of Byzantia (malîk Râmân), and a Persian king (malîk fars), agrees very well with this.‡

A few words on the contents of the sixth chapter of Glaser's *Skizze*, which is also of the greatest importance historically. The title is: the kings of Saba; first appearance of the Ḥabashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; kings of Hadramaut." As the title shows, the first mention of the Abyssinians—at the time still living in Arabia, and not yet in Africa—is of the most importance historically. Glaser gives a transliteration of the following part of an inscription decisive as to this point, and its translation is: "out of thankfulness for the fact that Djadarat, king of Ḥabashat, saw it to be necessary, in his own interests, to ally himself with him (the king of Saba) and that this alliance between him and Djadarat and the

* Glaser has proved that the supposed relapse into heathenism in the fifth or sixth centuries did not take place, but that Christianity, in accordance with the Axum traditions of the middle of the fourth century, remained continuously in Axum.

† Glaser, who has, up to date, allowed no one to see his collections (with the exception of 276 numbers of his first trip, two collection of stones in Berlin and London, and Nos. 418-420 and 1,000) has promised to leave to me the treatment of this highly interesting inscription (Nos. 553, 555, 556 and 618).

land of Ḥabashat was brought about, and that they agreed (to assist each other) as one man in their critical as well as peaceful times against everyone, who should attack their interests, and for protection(?), security, an alliance was made between Salhân, (Salhân or Salhîn?) and Zirârân and 'Athân* and Djadarat for the sake of all their interests (lands?) and they they thanked (God) therefore, that their alliance with the king of Ḥabashat was accomplished, and (as a result?) their alliance with Jeda'ab Ghailân, king of Hadramaut, was accomplished; (they thanked God) by the presentation of this dedication (dedicatory inscription...).”†

This offensive and defensive alliance of South Arabian states raised itself against the Himyarites dwelling in the southwestern part of Yemen, as Glaser shows from another inscription. The Himyarites appear here, on the inscriptions, for the first time as the enemy of Saba. There cannot be any doubt, according to the results of Glaser, that 1) the above-mentioned Ḥabashat are identical with the Habash (Habesh) known through the mention of the Arabs, and 2) that they, at that time, were still in Arabia,‡ and namely to the east of Hadramaut as far as 'Omar, and 3) that their immigration to Africa took place within the time between the writing of the inscription translated above and that of the so-called *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (about 70 B. C.), i. e., possibly not long before the Christian era.

These are the most important results of the first volume of Glaser's *Skizze*, and they awaken the earnest wish that the remainder may appear very soon. The contents of the later chapters, as given by Glaser, show that the material to be handled is no less interesting, e. g., chapter 16, “geography of the Bible, as relating to Arabia, comes into consideration.” The Old Testament relations with South Arabia—think only of the queen of Saba's visit to Solomon, leaving out the geographical names in the lists of the peoples§—are well known, but Hebrew lexicography, especially, will receive, through the South Arabian inscriptions, when Glaser has published and interpreted his materials,|| a mass of parallels, etymological explanations, etc., such as one could scarcely dream of now.¶ I will notice here one example, the name of a god, which I found a short time ago in the Sabæan in one of the 276 numbers belonging to Glaser's first trip,** viz., Gl. 119. It has to do with the well known Syrian god Rimmôn—also often met in the cuneiform inscriptions, Bab.-Assyr. Rammānu—and the passage in the Sabæan inscription reads:....[has erected] this statue, because Rammân (written רמן)

* Further on in the inscription mentioned as the king of Saba (cf. Glaser *Skizze*, 88).

† Glaser, *Skizze*, 88.

‡ Independent of Glaser, and in another way (purely linguistical), I have come to about the same conclusions. I hope soon to publish my reasons.

§ Also here, through the latest finds of Glaser is something new, viz., the name of Juhabib (the biblical Jobab), found by him independently of Halévy, as I can prove.

|| A part he has placed in my hands to interpret, and another part we will published together.

¶ I note here the Sabæan glosses of D. H. Müller to the last edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, which are already pretty well out of date.

** Copies of these 276 numbers have been in the hands of Derenbourg, as well as Mordtmann and D. H. Müller for many years.

had made him happy with many killed and captives." From the context, which calls for the name of a God, it is seen that also in the other passages of this inscription, Rammân means nothing else than this same god,* not perhaps pomegranate or Rûmân = Romans. This inscription belongs to the middle period of Sabæan history, about 300 B. C.

After all that has been said, I can only repeat what I have already published,† viz., that such unexampled success as that of Glaser has not been reached by any of his predecessors. This can be emphasized all the more now, as, from the important published inscriptions brought by Julius Euting from North Arabia, can be seen the still greater importance of Glaser's finds. Euting's Minæan inscriptions from El-'Ola (northwest of Medina) are valuable 1) because of the place of their discovery (South Arabian inscriptions in North Arabia), by which the interesting find of Glaser, viz., that Ghaza and other northern localities belonged to the Minæans in olden times, is confirmed, in as much as 'Ola was only a way station on the road between South Arabia and the Philistine coast; and 2) because of the antiquity of this colony and of its inscriptions, which, however, was first placed in its right light by Glaser. While Euting's journey was rendered possible by the munificence of the Alsatian government, the service of Glaser is to be rated higher, as he was compelled to earn the large sums necessary for his three trips through trade. Glaser has shown so much enthusiasm and such good results, that it would be to the interest of science if he could be well supported on another trip, since there is no one in Europe so well acquainted with the Arabian peninsula and the custom of the Arabs as he. His fourth trip, for which he is now making preparations, would then lead to still more wonderful results.

* I spoke in a few words about this discovery at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, and I will speak more at length in the Proceedings of the Congress.

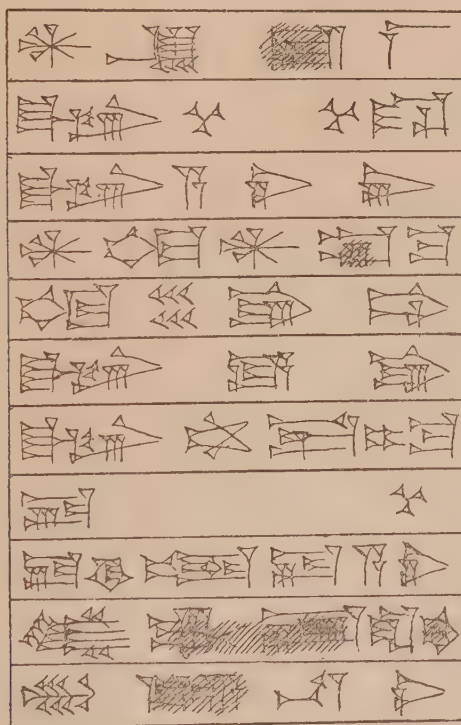
† Munich, *Allg. Zeit.*, Oct., 22, 1888.

AN EARLY BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION FROM NIFFER.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,

British Museum, London, England.

In the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of Mesopotamia, explorers generally meet with large numbers of bricks, the remains of ruined palaces and temples. Many of these bricks are, as a rule, inscribed, or stamped with an inscription recording the building or restoration of a temple or palace, usually the former. A brick from Niffer, now in the possession of Dr. R. F. Harper, shows that that city was no exception to the rule; and by his kind permission I venture to reproduce it here.



The text is one of the usual kind, stamped, by means of a wooden block, on the brick. Unfortunately, the clay does not seem to have been properly moistened

for the purpose, and the inscription, though impressed evenly, is therefore not at all distinct. The surface seems also to be covered with a thin deposit, which adds to the difficulty of deciphering the inscription. In addition to this, the block has not been cut so carefully as most of those of which impressions are to be found in the British Museum, the forms of some of the characters being unusual and probably incorrect. The illustration gives, approximately, the forms of the characters as far as the unsatisfactory state of the original allowed me to make them out.

The following is a transcription and translation of the whole :

1. (Dingir) En - lil - la	Bel
2. lugal kur - kur - ra	lord of lands
3. lugal - a - ni - ir	lord - her - to
4. (Dingir) Nin - (dingir) Dub - ba	Nin - Dubba
5. nin še - ga - bi	lady obedient
6. lugal E - ga	queen of Ega
7. lugal ub - da - tabtab - ba	queen of regions four
8. ê - kur	the house of the land
9. ê ki - ag - ga - a - ni	house beloved - his
10. šeg - al - ur - ra - kam	brick - with
11. mu - un - na - du	she - it - built.

Transcription arranged in words, and free translation :

Enlila, lugal kurkura, lugalaniir, Nin-Duba, nin šegabi, lugal Ega, lugal ub-da-tabtaba, ê-kur, ê kiagāni, šeg-al-ura-kam, munnadu.

"To* Bel, lord of the world, her lord, Nin-Duba, the obedient lady, queen of Ega, queen of the four regions, has built the house of the land, his beloved temple, with brick."

As is well known, the ideograph for Niffer is composed of the characters en-lila ki, "Bel's place" or "city," and he must therefore have been the patron deity of the place. *E-ga*, in line 6, is probably another name for this city, or for a part of it. The characters for the god Bel (*Enlila* or *Ellila*) occur line 1. The word is the same as that for Niffer, but differs from it in having the divine prefix dingir and the phonetic complement la, and in the determinative suffix for a place (ki) being wanting.†

The god Bel bears the usual title of "king" or "lord of the world" lugal kurkura (= Assy. šar or bēl matāti), both renderings being possible. It

* Or "For."








† As the inscription is written in the usual way, with expressions common to texts of this class, I do not give an analysis of the whole, but only touch upon those parts which are striking on account of their connection.

may here be noted as a point of interest, that the same character as is used for "king" or "lord" in lines 2 and 3 has to do duty for "queen" in lines 6 and 7. *Lugal* means, therefore, not only "man great," but "woman great" as well. In an Assyrian or Semitic Babylonian text *šarrat*, "queen of," would have been used.* The title "king" (or "queen") "of the four regions" (*lugal ubda tabtaba* = Assy. *šar kibrat arba'i*) was borne by most of the ancient kings of the Tigris and Euphrates valley.

The last line but one gives an expression which is not usually found in inscriptions of this class, the statement as to the material of which the temple was built. The group *šeg-al-ura* (= Assy. *agurru*), meaning "brick," is very common in architectural descriptions. The pronunciation given here may be regarded as certain, though there is a possibility that the first character *šeg* was simply an unpronounced determinative prefix. The variant *šeg-al-mur-ra* (*šeg-al-wur-ra* = *šeg-al-ura*) also occurs (see Brünnow's "Classified List," p. 453).†

The date of this inscription (which, I believe, is the only text of a queen of Mesopotamia known) is uncertain. Judging from the style of the characters, it should be about 1500 B. C., but it may be as early as 2500 B. C. In one of the royal lists there is the name of a much earlier queen, *Azaga-Bau*, or *Bau-êlilit* ("Bau is glorious"), who probably reigned between 3500 and 3000 B. C. From this it may be judged that female rulers in Mesopotamia were exceedingly few and far between.

These inscribed bricks, with the many royal inscriptions on stone, composed in the same idiom, are most important for the Sumero-Akkadian question. No reasonable man can believe for a moment that an exceedingly extensive line of kings, in a country where the remembrance of one's name and one's glorious deeds was regarded as the thing most to be desired upon earth, should choose to write their inscriptions and records in an idiom which was no language at all, but a cryptography, or a sacred writing, known only to the few. These texts were undoubtedly written for the many, and not for the information of the priests, who, being more or less acquainted with the history of the royal families, had less need to know what was written on the bricks, etc., than the rest of the population.

* The feminine determinative prefix,  (late Babylonian and Assyrian ) does not occur in this text except in the compound character  *lady* (lines 4 and 5), of which it forms a part,  being written for , late Babylonian , Assyrian . The group means literally "female lord."

† The readings of a few characters in Dr. Harper's text are doubtful. The principal are *šega*, in line 5, and *ubda* in line 7.

‡ WAL, V., pl. 44, l. 19ab.

Even if the anti-Akkadists could conclusively prove that the idiom which we call Akkadian was in any sense a world-speech (to restore "Volapük" to its original form), they must also explain satisfactorily the existence of a dialect (Sumerian), and how a Semitic people could invent an idiom differing so strangely from that of their own language (see the text here transcribed and translated). What I contended in my paper upon the "Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia"* (to which many more arguments could now be added) still remains unanswered.

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi., part ii., April, 1884.

THE KH. COLLECTION OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES BELONGING TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D.

In the October number of *HEBRAICA* (1888), a short description was given of the so-called J. S. (Joseph Shemtob) collection of antiquities, which was purchased in London, on July 21st, 1888, for the University of Pennsylvania. It may be of interest to add a few notes on the Kh. collection, purchased, on August 15th, 1888, for the same university.

From their contents, these two, together with the H collection purchased later and not yet on exhibition—must be regarded as one. While each has gathered up some material not properly belonging to it, the greater portion of all the tablets dates back to what may be called the Hammurabi period. They are, for the most part, contracts and case tablets. In the Kh. collection I have counted one from Hammurabi, six from his son Samsu-iluna, thirty-six from Ammi-satana and seventeen from Ammi-zaduga. In this collection there are none belonging to Samsu-satana. Among those marked J. S., there are two fine, large tablets of Hammurabi, viz., Nos. 19 and 20, the former a contract, and the latter a juridical decision. These two are in an almost perfect state of preservation. Six belong to Samsu-iluna, thirteen to Ammi-satana. Taken together there are forty-nine from Ammi-satana and only twenty-three from Ammi-zaduga.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, XI., 3, 1888, Mons. Henri Pognon, under the title "Découverte de contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie de babylone," discusses the contract tablets of the Hammurabi dynasty, especially their relative number and the etymology of the names of the kings. The tablets mentioned by M. Pognon were exhibited to him in Baghdad, and they belong to the same class as those of J. S. and Kh.* I have good reasons for believing that they are the tablets mentioned above as belonging to the H collection. He writes that among the tablets of this period, those of Hammurabi are by far the fewest in number, and those of Ammi-zaduga, the greatest. In regard to the J. S. and Kh. collections, this statement does not hold good, as can be seen from the above figures. Those of Ammi-satana, and not those of Ammi-zaduga, are the most numerous. However, in the case of those marked H., Pognon's general statement is correct. I was surprised to find that almost every tablet examined belonged to Ammi-zaduga.

* In regard to the so-called library of Nebuchadnezzar, mentioned by Pognon as having been found in Jumjuma, see R. F. Harper in *ZA.*, April, 1889.—Ed.

One of the most interesting things connected with these collections was the discovery of a king hitherto unknown. The reading of the name puzzled me for a long time. It was read in two or three different ways by two or three different Assyriologists, to whom I had shown these pieces. At last, on J. S., 41, with the aid of Mr. Pinches, I read A-bi-e-šu-'. On J. S., Nos. 42 and 43, the name is written quite plainly in the same way. Cf. also J. S., 142, an archaic contract from the same king. In the Kh. collection, I found two tablets of Abešu', viz., No. 19, "lists of amounts," and No. 198, a "case-tablet of Abešu'." Among the H tablets, there are three or four Abešu' contracts. This king undoubtedly belongs to the Hammurabi dynasty and is to be identified with Ebišu, the son of Samsu-iluna.* Mr. Pinches informed me that no tablets belonging to this king have as yet been found among the large number of contracts in the British Museum.

Among the Kh. tablets, there are also several bilingual hymns, semitic hymns, incantations, omens, prayers, and four or five letters. No. 2 is a letter; No. 4, a bilingual list; No. 7, mythological lists, a Babylonian duplicate of II R. 64; No. 12, an address to Marduk; No. 22, a bilingual hymn, etc., etc. Contracts of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes are also found. There are one or two large mathematical tablets, and two or three syllabaries, the exact value of which I did not have time to learn.

The J. S. and Kh. collections contain in all over 1000 tablets. About 250 of these are in a good state of preservation and another 250 in a fairly good condition. Over 400 have been placed in glass boxes and are now on exhibition. The recently acquired H collection contains 632 tablets and 117 seal cylinders. Although most of the tablets are contracts, and belong to an early period, there are a great many of later date and of a different class.

BAGHDAD, January 19th, 1889.

* Cf. R. F. Harper's Brief an C. Bezold in *Zeitschrift fuer die Assyriologie*, April, 1889.—Ed.

➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.◀

BRUGSCH'S MYTHOLOGIE UND RELIGION DER ALTEN AEGYPTER.

This book is divided into two parts: I. The Introduction and II. The Egyptian Mythology. The first part is by far the better, and offers many valuable suggestions, though in many details we would differ from the author.

The first chapter deals with the methods of studying and interpreting mythology. He finds that there are five methods, the ethical, physical, historical, eclectic and linguistic, which have been practiced ever since the study of mythology first began.

In the following chapter he shows how the ancient Egyptians proceeded in interpreting and commenting their mythological and religious writings, and discovers:

1) That these writings were from the oldest times interpreted and commented by priests of philosophical training, who made use of all of the above-mentioned methods;

2) That these interpretations and commentaries were incorporated with the older theological writings, taking the form of answers to the question "What is that?" or "What does that signify?" placed after the name or phrase to be explained;

3) That the names of the commentators are never mentioned, a proof that the commentaries are ancient;

4) That to understand the Egyptian theology we need only know that it constituted a mass of traditional learning, admitting of no individual criticism.

The first two of these propositions are perfectly in accordance with the facts, the last two are not. In the first place the fact that the names of the commentators are not mentioned is no proof of the antiquity of the commentaries. It was not customary with the ancient Egyptian authors to affix their names to their productions, and though there have come down to us many hundreds of writings, we know the names of authors only in very rare cases. I do not consider Ptaḥḥôtep and Amenemḥat I., whose names are attached to distinct productions, the real authors of the works attributed to them. Ptaḥḥôtep stands on the same footing with Imḥôtep and Hardedef as a sage, and his name was used most probably to give the maxims to which it was attached more authority. It is only of three works that we know the names of authors, "The Memoirs of Prince Saneḥa," a didactic poem by Daauf, and a congratulatory poem by Qagabu, on the accession of King Seti II. to the throne. The fourth proposition is disproved by

the second. If no individual criticism was permitted, I would like to ask Dr. Brugsch how it comes that we have to one passage several commentaries materially differing one from the other. There certainly were schools of commentators and the various commentaries belong to the various schools.

He now turns to a consideration of the Egyptian language as a means of interpreting the Egyptian mythology. This chapter is undoubtedly the best and most suggestive of the entire book, though I cannot always agree with his etymologies. He divides the religious language into three classes, the theological, the mystical and the mythical. The division is excellent, and Brugsch has carefully and skillfully carried it out in detail. The study of the language of religious texts from this stand-point is of paramount importance, and it would be of great value if the investigation were taken into hand by several specialists and scrupulously carried out along the general lines here laid down by our author.

Now he comes to the idea of God, "Gottesbegriff." Brugsch is a firm believer in the monetheistic hypothesis, which he attempts to defend. He takes the ground that, over and above the belief in a sevralty of gods, there existed a belief in a single Supreme Being, designated as *nuter*. This hypothesis, first originated by Viscount De Rougé and taken up by Le Page Renouf, rests on a mistaken interpretation of the word *nuter* in the older ethical treatises. I am of the opinion that *nuter* must here be translated "the god" and not "God." In rendering this word we must remember that the oldest language did not possess the article and could make no distinction between "God," "a god," and "the god." I take the word to refer to Osiris, the god of the dead, whose name men did not like to utter in those early times. This is borne out by the fact that whenever occasion arises to mention him, he is called by one of his numerous surnames: *nuter āa*, "the great god," *ser nofer*, "the good prince," *Chent Amenti*, "He of the Lower World." The quotations given on pages 96-99 in proof of the monotheistic hypothesis prove nothing, and torn out of their context are unintelligible. He also attempts chiefly on the authority of Hekataios, as quoted by Plutarch, to prove that the Egyptian religion was pantheistic. No facts in the history of the religion bear this out. It is true that every polytheism contains traces of pantheism, but the Egyptian religion is no more pantheistic than any other polytheism. Hekataios I must reject altogether as an authority on the subject.

Part II. treats of the Egyptian mythology and naturally falls into two subdivisions: 1, the Cosmogony and 2, the Ennead.

The cosmogony is well treated, though owing to lack of historical method and to the fact that the theories of the various schools of cosmogony are not sufficiently separated, this part is not quite as perfect as it might have been. It would be of immense value to sift out from all theological texts all the cosmological pas-

sages and to refer them to their various schools, showing in what these schools agree and in what they differ, also giving an historical account of these theories.

Before treating of the Ennead, he first takes up a number of divinities that can in no way be forced into it. These deities are not cosmological, and it is difficult to see how they fit into the general plan. He thus takes up first *Tum* or *Atum*, the Heliopolitan leader of the Ennead. The name of this god he attempts to explain from the root *tem*, while in reality the root is *atem*. He comes to the conclusion that the name signifies "the perfect or perfected one." Within proper limits no doubt the etymology of divine names is of great assistance in determining the nature of divinities, but great caution must be exercised lest we fall into the mistake of trying to explain everything from often doubtful etymologies. This is, however, a mistake Brugsch often makes; to give another instance, he accepts the ancient Egyptian etymology of *Amon* from *Amen* "to hide," and gives the name the significance of "the hidden one." With *Atum* he identifies as a local form the great god *Chum* of Elephantine, a god that is the head of a distinct pantheon and that in no wise resembles *Atum*.

He now turns to *Hathor*, and here commits the grave error of reducing four goddesses, every one quite distinct from the other, and all quite distinct from *Hathor*, to local forms of this goddess. They are *Nechebet*, the guardian deity of the south; *Uatj*, that of the north; *Bast* of Bubastis, a decidedly solar deity, while *Hathor* is a goddess of the sky, and the great goddess, *Neit*, of Sais. The reason of this is his entire disregard of history. He believes the religious and mythological texts of the Ptolemaic period are the sources for the mythology and religion of all epochs, and that their identifications are old and popular. This is nothing short of saying that for over 4,000 years religious thought had remained stagnant in Egypt; and, indeed, he says as much in his preface. That this is not a fact, but that a continuous development was taking place is apparent from a merely casual survey of the religious texts. To trace this development should be the aim of a writer on Egyptian religion, and this is the very thing Brugsch has failed to do.

Why he should here dispose of several forms of *Horus* under the head of *Hor-pa-chrod* (Greek Harpocrates), *Horus*, the child, I cannot see. They do not belong here but under *Horus*.

He now turns to the members of the Ennead, or circle of nine gods. This circle is to Brugsch the basis on which all of the Egyptian religion rests, and this idea is the fundamental mistake of the entire book. The Ennead is an artificial product, invented by the priesthood of On-Heliopolis, in order to bring more unity into the complex system of religions. It was by them regarded as originated by *Tum* who is, in Heliopolis, its leader. I may here remark that in every name a different divinity, the head of the local pantheon, is assigned to the Ennead as leader, though standing outside of it. The membership, with one exception

always remains fixed. The members of the Ennead are *Shu*, *Tefnut*, *Qeb*, *Nut*, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Horus*, *Set*, and *Nephthys*. *Set* is sometimes eliminated and *Horwer*, a form of *Horus*, or *Thot* put in his place.

Shu is the first member. He is a purely speculative figure, the personification of the atmosphere. This does not prevent our author from making *Thot*, the god of wisdom and science, a local form of *'Shu*. *Thot* has, however, connected with him four goddesses, that he treats of here, though he does not attempt to force them into the Ennead. They are *Nehem-ânit*, *Sâfchet*, *Unut*, and *Mât*. Here the plan first shows its weakness. He now proceeds to prove that *Ptah*, the great god of Memphis, and one of the leaders of the Ennead, is a local form of *Shu*, while in a former part of the book he had spoken of him as a local form of *Osiris*, a little inconsistency, that clearly shows how erroneous the whole plan is. *Chosu*, the son of *Amon* and *Mut*, *Chum* of *Esneh*, and five forms of *Horus*, *Anhor*, *Hor Debehti* (wrongly called *Hor Bahudti*), of Edfu, *Horwer*, *Horus* of Hatbenu, and *Hor Soptu*—all gods in no way related to *Shu* in nature, are all treated as local forms of that deity. *Sôchet*, the wife of *Ptah*, is called the "Memphitic *Tafnut*," but neither *Nofertum* nor *Imhotep*, different forms of the son of *Ptah* and *Sôchet*, will fit into the schema.

Qeb is the third member of the Ennead, the god of the earth, no more, no less, a purely cosmological form, and yet one of the local forms of *Chum* is made a local form of *Qeb*! Another unnatural combination he effects in making *Sebak*, the crocodile god of the Fayum, a local of this same god. Two gods that differ more widely from their assumed prototypes than *Chum* and *Sebak* do from *Qeb* he could scarcely have found.

With *Osiris*, the fifth member of the Ennead, he identifies *Hâpi*, the god of the Nile, who is a cosmological god. For this identification there is some slight foundation; but yet the god of the dead stands in strange contrast to the god of the living and life-giving Nile! The only point of resemblance between the two is found in that legend of *Osiris* which represents the god as an early king of the country and great benefactor of its people.

With *Horus*, the seventh member of the Ennead, he again identifies a number of gods: *Anubis*, *Min*, *Amon*, and *Montu*. He could not have taken more utterly different gods. *Anubis*, the jackal-headed watcher of the tomb; *Min*, the ithyphallic agricultural god of Coptos; *Amon*, the mighty propagator and king of gods, and *Montu*, the Theban war-god, have nothing whatever in common with the son of *Isis* and *Osiris*. It seems quite strange to me that he should have treated the real local forms of *Horus* in different parts of the book. He takes the forms of the youthful *Horus*, *Harpocrates* by themselves and makes five forms of *Horus* local forms of *Shu*.

Such are the errors of this book, which contains for the specialist, but for him only, a vast amount of valuable detail. These errors all result from three

causes: first, from the fact that he considers the Ennead as the fundamental principle of the Egyptian religion; second, from his unhistorical method, and third, from placing too much faith in old Egyptian identifications.

The first two errors I have already touched on at some length. The third is the most excusable. It is true that in Heliopolis the cult of *Rā* had developed into a solarism, if I may invent a word to express the idea of an imperfect solar monotheism, that is to say, the belief that had arisen that *Rā* was, in a measure, the *only* god and all other gods were reducible to him. Thus arose identifications such as *Tum-Rā*, *Rā-Hor-em-achuti* (*Rāharmachis*), *Chum-Rā*, *Amon-Rā*, and *Sebak-Rā*, all gods being treated after the schema of solarism. Other identifications were also made, but only in the case of closely related deities, as *Ptah-Sokar*, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, *Isis-Hathor*, and others. In Ptolemaic times the field of these identifications was vastly extended. But we must always remember that all of these identifications are *secondary*, and are confined, in the older times, to certain schools of theology. We must, then, be careful not to take them into consideration when we discuss the nature of a divinity.

Though the book has for an ostensible plan the treatment of the Egyptian religion and mythology on the basis of the Ennead, yet, owing to the fact that many divinities could not be forced into it and had to be treated independently of the general plan, the whole work is rather confused, and we fail to find a unity of plan. It is also deplorable that he considers the local cults as secondary, while in reality they are the elements that go to make up that complex whole, the Egyptian religion.* In the make up of the book we miss an index and find the placing of the notes and references in an appendix very inconvenient.

We cannot, then, recommend the book to general readers, though it contains much valuable detail for the specialist.

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BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE, ETC.†

BSS. is not to be regarded as a new Semitic journal. The editors emphasize this point very strongly in their advertisement. It is rather a series of articles or essays on Semitic subjects, appearing from time to time in book form. The plan of BSS. is different from that of *ZA.*, *BOR.*, *HEBRAICA*, or any other of the existing Semitic journals. While the latter, on account of space and the frequency of their appearance, necessarily confine themselves to comparatively short

* Cf. my "Prolegomena to an Historical Account of the Egyptian Religion" in the *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, 1888.

† BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND VERGLEICHENDEN SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. Erster Band. Heft I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1889. Pp. 1-368. \$6.

articles, BSS. will publish, as a rule, longer dissertations, such as might be put in pamphlet or book form. As stated above, the numbers of BSS. will not appear at any regular intervals. It will, perhaps, be possible to publish one number a year.

In No. 1., Haupt treats the nominal prefix *na* in Assyrian. He rightly denies that the fact of the change of **𐎶** to **𐎶** in many cases was unknown before the appearance of Barth's article in ZA., but gives due credit to Barth for his explanation of the law bringing about this change, viz., the influence of a following labial. While differing with Barth in many particulars, he accepts the law formulated by Barth as conclusively proven. Compare also *Zur assyrischen Nominallehre*, pp. 158-184, where Haupt gives an alphabetical list of the forms with prefixed **𐎶** and **𐎶**. Those also are noticed which retain the **𐎶**, although followed by a labial—the reading of most of these words is doubtful—and those in which there is a **𐎶** instead of a **𐎶**, without the influence of a following labial. The **𐎶**, in the latter case, is regarded as original by Haupt. On pp. 48-79, Haupt publishes the text of the XIIth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrodepos, with textual notes defending his readings, and a few grammatical and lexicographical notices. On pp. 293-300, "On the half vowels *u* and *i*" is chiefly an "Auseinandersetzung" with Philippi. His results of a new collation of the Izdubar legends (pp. 94-152) will be of great value toward definitely settling the readings of these texts.

One of the most valuable articles is by Flemming on the literary remains of Grotefend. Such collections do more than anything else to establish the Assyrian on a truly historical basis. On pp. 330-361, Georg Steindorf, on the cuneiform writing of Egyptian proper names, emphasizes the value of the writing of the Assyrian names in the Egyptian for Assyrian phonology, and on the other hand, the great importance of the exact method of writing in the Assyrian for the Egyptian. Joh. Jeremias transliterates and translates the Cultustafel of Sippar, on pp. 267-292. The notes, chiefly lexicographical, are very useful, but they are too much drawn out. Too much attention is paid to words whose readings and etymologies are well known. Delitzsch publishes the text of a cylinder of Sinidinnam, with transliteration and translation. The cylinder is reproduced by photography, and Delitzsch adds to the Old Babylonian text a transliteration into the Assyrian characters (pp. 301-312).

Under the existing circumstances, the most interesting article is by Delitzsch, on the Assyro-Babylonian letters. Most of the texts discussed are published by S. A. Smith in his *Keilschrifttexten Asurbanipals* II., and *PSBA.*, IX. and X. Delitzsch duly acknowledges the value of Smith's edition of these texts. Along with his transliterations and translations, he gives those of S. A. Smith; and on every page he points out the latter's ignorance of the grammar and lexicon. Delitzsch's work shows the hand of a master. It will form a basis for all future scientific study of the letter literature. It is pleasant to note Delitzsch's respectful treatment of Smith, as over against Smith's use of "Billingsgate" against his

former professor. It is time for Mr. Smith to learn that he will estrange all of his friends in America, even his former Leipzig classmates, if he continues his uncalled-for and childish personal abuse of Delitzsch.

Semitic students are under many obligations to the editors of BSS., and to those who have contributed to its pages.

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THE FABLES OF BIDPAI.*

Perhaps no one book in the world's literature has had such a unique history as the collection of stories which goes under the name of "*Kalilag and Damnag*." Originating over two thousand years ago in the pious circles of the followers of Gautama and destined only for a small band of the faithful, they have, by means of their inherent *humanity*, traveled thousands of miles beyond their original home, have formed a sort of human bond between different peoples divided by nationality, religion and history, and have been translated into almost every human tongue. No one can doubt their inherent power; and the study of the journeyings of these Buddhistic tales is one of the most fascinating to the philologist and literateur alike.

In the handsomely gotten-up volume before us Mr. Jacobs has given us a faithful reprint of the English translation of the Fables of Bidpai made in the year 1570 by Thomas North, bearing the title, *The Morall Philosophie of Doni: Drawne out of the ancient writers, etc., etc.* The original editions have both become very scarce and the students of Tudor English Prose will no doubt be very thankful for this reprint of a work of one who "came just midway between the exaggerated Ciceronianism of Berners, Elliot, and Ascham . . . and the exaggerated Guevarism (if it must be so) of Lyly and his school" (p. liv). As this English translation is only the last of a series, the former parts of which are now at our disposal, it is, in itself, of little interest to oriental students.

The introduction, however, of some sixty-seven pages is well worth careful perusal. It is a pity that it has not been detached from the work itself and sold separately. We find in it a careful résumé of much of the work done in regard to this literature. One new point Mr. Jacobs has brought out for which "find" he has earned the thanks of all students of these tales.† That some of the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts had contained illustrations to these tales was already known. It was left for Mr. Jacobs to show that in all probability the Sanskrit

* The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai, "*The Morall Philosophie of Doni*," by Sir Thomas North, whilom of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs, late of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Nutt, MDCCCLXXXVIII., pp. LXXXII., 264.

† Cf. *Athenæum*, May 12, 1888, p. 600, and an article entitled "Jewish Diffusion of Folk-Tales" in *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, June 15, 1888, p. 12.

original also contained these or similar illustrations. We believe with him that "this migration of illustrations may one day afford as interesting a chapter in the history of art as the fables themselves have given to the history of literature" (p. xxiii).

We are still further indebted to Mr. Jacobs for pointing out the evident connection which exists between these illustrations and the *Jatakas* or *Birth Stories* which were sculptured around the stupas of Amaravati and Bharhut, as early as the third century B. C., and specimens of which may still be seen in the British Museum. This discovery with reference to the illustrations may at some time bring order into the chaos which now reigns in the codification of the Arabic manuscripts of *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

Whether Mr. Jacobs' suggestion of an independent translation from the Sanskrit into Arabic (p. xix) will hold good, remains yet to be seen. The only authority upon which such a supposition can be based is a statement of a wandering Jew, Abraham ibn Ezra (12th century). Dr. Steinschneider himself does not seem to lay much stress upon this account.* He has proved conclusively that Ibn Ezra himself never visited India,† and his statement, therefore, is at second or third hand.

There is another point in Mr. Jacobs' Introduction which is worthy of note. On p. xxxiii he combats the prevailing tendency to refer all such "märchen" back to an Indian source. Many scholars will be with him in working upon the "common human nature underlying" many of these tales for an explanation of a number of curious coincidences. Very interesting is the parallel Mr. Jacobs draws between one of the well known stories of *Uncle Remus* and a passage from the *Jataka* of the Demon with the Matted Hair (p. xlv). Still, for our fables of Bidpai, the Indian origin is quite certain, and even Mr. Jacobs does not hesitate to say (p. xlix) that "the fables of Bidpai are the fables of Buddha."

With a Buddhistic background the prominence given to the animals becomes perfectly clear; and the work done by Benfey and Rhys-Davids in identifying some of these tales with the Buddhistic Birth Stories becomes very fruitful.‡ If we accept Mr. Rhys-Davids' chronology this would place the collection of these stories between 400 and 200 B. C.

Mr. Jacobs writes a terse English style, but very often one feels an antiquarian research after unusual and obsolete words. This may fit in with the "inducing" and re-editing of an old book, but it jars somewhat upon one's ears.

* *ZDMG*, xxiv., 326.

† *ZDMG*, xx., 430.

‡ An interesting parallel to this is the history of the *Barlam and Josaphat* romance which contains the biography of Buddha (*ZDMG*, xxiv., 326, xxxii. 584). In this way Buddha, in the form of Josaphat, was canonized by the Church of Rome. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah*, p. lii, note 1.

§ See p. xli and *The Academy*, Aug. 11, 1888, p. 87.

If I mistake not, this attempt has led Mr. Jacobs astray in one or two instances and has brought down upon him the ire of such a man as Sir Richard Burton.

I would also call attention to the useful *Analytical Table of Contents* and *Pedigree of the Bidpai Literature* attached to the introduction.

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PEISER'S CONTRACT TABLETS.*

The long and extremely interesting Assyrian historical inscriptions, with their vivid descriptions of murder and pillage, of siege and battle, have, up to this time, received more study than any other class of texts. Some of the more important have been repeatedly edited or translated or both. And this was natural. Here was ready-made history, which needed only the interpreter's skill to place it within ready control of our own historiographers, who were glad of the opportunity of reconstructing the story of forgotten empires and kingdoms. But these historical inscriptions, great and numerous though they are, are yet but a small portion of the vast Assyrian literature already recovered. And just as Green's *History of the English People*, with its brilliant pictures of the development of science, art and literature, is of a higher order of historical writing than many a previous story of that same land, which spoke only of kings and their wars, just so will there be a higher and better knowledge of Assyria when, to our acquaintance with the deeds of kings as recorded on historical inscriptions, there is added a knowledge of the daily life of the people.

Fortunately we have rich sources of history outside the royal annals. We have also an extensive religious literature, many treatises on medicine, and not to mention yet other sources, we have the so-called contract tablets,—the deeds of sale and transfer and loan,—which will give to us, when made accessible, a complete picture of the everyday life of the people. When these have been translated and published, there will be needed only the genius of a Green to give us a picture of Assyrian life and history more detailed and more accurate than has yet been written even of Greece!

Unfortunately, for us who would fain make haste in this process of history-writing, these contract tablets are difficult, usually difficult to decipher from the clay, almost always difficult to translate when deciphered. Because of their great present importance and still greater future importance, and because of the difficulty which they present to all workers, we heartily welcome every attempt to

* KEILSCHRIFTLICHE ACTEN-STUECKE AUS BABYLONISCHEN STAEDTEN. Von Steinen und Tafeln des Berliner Museums in Autographie, Transcription und Uebersetzung herausgegeben und commentiert von Dr. F. E. Peiser. Nebst zwei Lichtdrucktafeln. Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag. 1889.

throw new light upon them, if only the attempt be careful and even measurably successful.

To this class certainly belongs Dr. Peiser's new book. In fact we will go further and say gladly that it is very successful.

The book contains, besides its twelve pages of preface and introduction, 124 pages of letter press, 21 pages of texts in autograph facsimile, and five handsome photo-lithographs of the Sargon stone of the Berlin Museum. Twenty-one texts are published in it, and so far as we can discover this difficult task has been exceedingly well done. During the past summer, while in the Berlin Museum, the present writer collated the entire Sargon stone with Peiser's copy, without finding a single place where he would venture to offer any correction; and this is a sufficiently long piece by which to judge that part of the book.

After the transcription and translation there follows a succinct commentary, with pointed discussions of the various historical, archaeological and grammatical difficulties which present themselves in the tablets.

Then follows the autograph facsimiles done by Dr. Ludwig Abel's skillful hand. This is, of course, well done, as is all of his work; but we are not ready to admit that his method of writing, which he probably owes to Dr. Strassmaier, is the true one. That the heads of the wedges, as impressed in the clay, *do* point to the right and downwards, if strictly measured, we do not deny; but we do deny that they *look* so. And just as no painter, in representing a horse in full gallop, would paint him as he appeared to a camera with an exposure of the fraction of a second, but rather as he appeared to the *eye*, so we maintain that, as the Assyrian scribe so held his tool as to give the head of the wedge an extension to the left as well as to the right, and upwards as well as downwards, we should in our copies represent it as the scribe has *actually* written it, not as he *might* have done it; in other words, as it *appears*, not as theory says it ought to be. In this way, Delitzsch, Haupt, Brünnow, and others, have written. But of late there seems to have been a strong tendency towards Strassmaier's method. This is not to be wondered at; for Strassmaier has done so much work and such thoroughly excellent work, that he could not fail to influence methods of writing, especially when he has such a strong argument to present. But besides the fact that the tablets actually look as we have said, this method of writing is much handsomer and easier to read. There has been no autographing of Assyrian texts more handsome than Haupt's *Nimrod Epos*, and none more legible than Brünnow's *List*.

The real heart of Peiser's book for the historical student lies in the brief introduction, which, omitting the preface, only fills six pages. It aims simply to gather up the scattered opinions on historical questions that occur in the notes, and give them a clear and unified presentation. It is a good piece of work; and while it is almost certain to be modified in small points by future study, it serves a very useful purpose to-day.

To this book there must now be added a simple mention of Peiser's recent report to the Berlin Academy,* in which he shows that some of the contract tablets acquired by the British Museum, February 11th, 1884, belong to the same series as some in the collection of the Berlin Museum. These tablets begin in the year 570 B. C., during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and continue, at intervals, to the year 487 B. C., in the reign of Darius, recording the various transactions of one family whose genealogical tree Peiser has constructed. It is indeed an important work to have shown the relationship existing between the Berlin and London collections in this way, and we shall await with interest the publication of his new book, already promised, on *Babylonische Vorträge*, etc.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

KENNEDY'S INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW.†

The author is the translator of Ewald's Syntax; he is not the Kennedy (Archd R. S.) who has translated Nestle's Syriac Grammar and Delitzsch's Assyrian Grammar. The book is the outgrowth of work in the class-room. The matter falls into four divisions: (1) *Preliminary matter*, including a discussion of the powers and classification of the consonants; the Massoretic system; inflectional vowel-changes; consonantal changes. (2) *Introductory exercises*, on the order of words in a sentence, the nature of the Hebrew language, word-accretion, suffixes, affirmations and affixes, conjugations of verbs, Hebrew roots. (3) *Part First*, including pronouns, regular(?) verbs, nouns, conjugations, affixes to verbs. (4) *Part Second*, including irregular(?) verbs, additional remarks on the construct state, and segholate nouns, adverbs, interjections, conjugations, conditional sentences, the relative, circumstantial clauses. To this is added an appendix containing paradigms and vocabularies. The contents are presented thus minutely in order to show what the author understands to be a "progressive order." If this is order of any kind, we should be glad to know what confusion might be. That the results of this plan were satisfactory, we must believe, because of the author's assertion to this effect; but surely if it were not for his assertion, one might well doubt the fact.

Among other points of interest may be noted the following: (1) א, ה, ח, ע are called aspirates (with Ewald), not gutturals; ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת are muta-

* "Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nov., '84, 2-11, in British Museum registrirten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlungen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin" von Dr. F. E. Peiser. Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Gesamtsitzung vom 25 Juli, 1889. xxxviii.

† INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW, presenting graduated instruction in the language of the Old Testament, by James Kennedy, B. D., Acting Librarian in the New College, and one of the additional examiners in Divinity at the University, Edinburgh. London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 234, xxx. 58.

bles, not aspirates, the latter term being judged inapplicable, because they do not *always* take the aspirated sound. (2) Under "Laws affecting aspirates (guttural)" certain enigmatical statements are given, and a footnote added: "these laws, because of their importance, must be studied carefully; but inasmuch as what is here laid down may not be fully understood at first, the student must repeatedly revert to what is given above." (3) A difference is recognized between "tone-long" (ō) "essentially long (ô) vowels, but in transliteration ō is used for the — in כֹּהֵן אֱלֹהִים, קוֹלִי (p. 35, line 10, inconsistent with his treatment of the same vowel elsewhere), לֵא, and in other words, which a beginner knows to be essentially long. (4) ׀ is transliterated é without reference to its origin or character. (5) The demonstrative pronouns are compared with the English, German and Sanskrit (p. 49, footnote), as if they were closely related. (6) The lack of any index, a lack all the more aggravating because of the inexplicable order in which the matter of the book is presented.

To be commended are the following: (1) the care everywhere shown to make clear what in many cases was an obscure statement by supplementary notes and questions, in smaller type. (2) The full exposition given of the Jewish grammatical terms, e. g., the names of the vowels, pp. 14, 15. (3) The large number of examples, for the most part carefully chosen, given in the exercises. (4) The prominence given to the operation of the law of the tone.

Why does the author explain the י in קטל (p. 127) as a change intended "to make some difference of force," when the real reason lies so close at hand? Why does he say that the ä of the preformative of the Hîph'il is not essential," because it does not appear in kindred Arabic and Aramean forms?" Do not أَفْعَل and أَكْטَل correspond to the ground form הִקְטַל? It is, indeed, discouraging in these days of philological work to read (p. 137): "Hence before כֶּם, כֶּן and כֵּן is placed sh'va, etc." When, a little later, we find the footnote "That the 'union-vowel' *a* in the Perfect is really an old ending seems to be proved by the inflection of the verb in Arabic," we ask (1) why does he say "seems"? (2) why does he not explain the Š'wâ before כֶּן, כֶּם, כֵּן as having the same origin? Why does he tell the pupil (p. 194) that the Arabic formerly had ū, ī, ā as vowel-endings? were the case-endings in the singular ever long?

In conclusion, the book is much too full for an elementary treatise. After doing the work outlined here, no time would remain for reading connected narrative. On the other hand, though containing more real syntax than the older edition of Gesenius, the material is so badly arranged that it can not be used for a reference book. It shows everywhere evidence of careful, scholarly work. It is a pity, however, that the time devoted to its preparation had not been employed in preparing notes of a philological and grammatical character upon some book of the Old Testament.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.*

“‘Astoreth and the ‘Ashera,” by Rev. G. W. Collins. The writer reviews the opinions of Movers, Studer, Bertheau, Kuenen, and Sayce, but cannot accept any of them. His chief points are 1) that, while the ‘Ashtoreth is not sufficiently near to the Assyro-Babylonian Ištar to make it necessary that the attributes of the latter should also belong to the former, still, allowance being made for differences in surroundings, the Phœnician ‘Ashtoreth has much in common with Istar; 2) the worship of the goddess was licentious and sensual, as can easily be seen from the inscription at Larnaca and the so-called “prostitution-caves” near Gebal and Tyre; 3) the position of the goddess became considerably lowered in passing through the Babylonians, Assyrians and Phœnicians until among the Israelites she was the mere double of Baal. As to ‘Ashera, according to the writer, it was neither a goddess nor a representation of a goddess. He would derive the name from Assyr. išaru with the meaning phallus, and would explain its constant connection with Baal, by the fact that it represented the phallic aspect of the Baal cultus. The ‘Ashera is either a sacred tree or pole and has no connection with ‘Ashtoreth or any other female divinity.

Rev. C. J. Ball transliterates and translates two passages from Nebuchadnezzar, cylinder 85-4-30, 1. These passages bring us nothing new, containing, as they do, some variant readings about Nebuchadnezzar's buildings. Mr. Ball's etymologies both here and throughout his commentaries on the different Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions are bold, many of them being quite doubtful. He does not seem to be acquainted with the published literature. In the latter part of the “proceedings,” Mr. Ball and Dr. Bezold indulge in polemics over the “Nin-mag” inscription.

On pages 326-413, Prof. Sayce gives a translation of “The Cuneiform Tablets of Telel-Amarna, now preserved in the Boulak museum.” It is to be regretted that Prof. Sayce could not give us the texts also, as in many instances, his readings do not agree with those of Dr. Winckler. Thirty-three tablets are transliterated and translated with notes. In addition to the Boulak tablets, Prof. Sayce has copied others in the possession of Rostovitch-Bey, M. Golénisheff and the Rev. Chauncey Murch. These texts are most difficult and Prof. Sayce's work is that of the pioneer. Hence a great many readings and explanations are only provisional. Many of them will, doubtless, be given up, when the el-Amarna literature has been more thoroughly studied. The language of these tablets is very peculiar, as everyone knows, and Prof. Sayce is inclined to think that on some tablets, we have the Hittite.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

* Volume XI., XIXth Session. Eighth Meeting, June 4th, 1889.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

The autumn (1889) session of the American Oriental Society was held at Columbia College, New York city, October 30th and 31st. The following is a partial list of the papers presented: 1. "Historical Relics of Morocco," by Mr. Talcott Williams; 2. "Notes and news on Syriac texts and translations," and 3, "Scheme for collecting and preserving ancient Syriac texts at Oroomia," by Prof. Isaac Hall; 4. "The Shofar, its use and origin," by Dr. Cyrus Adler; 5. "The Land Mitani on the Egyptian Monuments," by Brusch-Pasha (read by Prof. Gottheil); 6. "De Clerc's Catalogue of Oriental Cylinders," and 7, "The Dragon Tiamat in Babylonian Art," by Dr. William Hayes Ward; 8. "A proposed edition of the Syriac-Arabic glosses of Bar-Ali," by Prof. Gottheil; 9. "The text-books of the Babylonians and Assyrians," by Prof. Morris Jastrow; 10. "On the Text of Judges xvi. 13, 14," by Prof. Geo. F. Moore.

The sessions of the Society were well attended and the papers presented were both numerous and interesting. Several new members were elected. On the evening of the 30th, a reception was given to the members of the society by Prof. Drisler, Acting President of Columbia.

CONTENTS OF JOURNALS.

Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Juli, 1889):

- JOS. HALÉVY, Notes assyriologiques, p. 205-224. Recensionen: F. E. Peiser, Keilinschriftliche
R. E. BRUENNOW, Assyrian Hymns, 225-257. Acten-Stücke. Besprochen von P. Jensen,
B. MEISSNER, Ein Freibrief Nébukadnezar's II. 293-295.
253-267. Bibliographie, 295-297.
P. JENSEN, Assyrio-hebraica, 268-280.
Sprechsaal: Mittheilungen der Herren Scheil,
Hilprecht, Bezold, Lehmann, 281-293.

Beiträge zur Assyriologie, etc. (Erster Band, Heft I.):

- PAUL HAUPT, Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen, 1-20. PAUL HAUPT, Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift, 249-267.
FRANZ PRAETORIUS, Zur Aethiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie, 21-47. JOHANNES JEREMIAS, Die Cultustafel von Sippar, 267-292.
PAUL HAUPT, Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos (mit 9 Tafeln), 48-79. PAUL HAUPT, Ueber die Halbvocale *u* und *i*, 293-300.
JOH. FLEMMING, Der literarische Nachlass G. F. Grotefends (mit Portrait), 80-93. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Ein Thonkegel Sinidinnams (mit Abbildung in Lichtdruck und 4 Tafeln), 301-312.
PAUL HAUPT, Ergebnisse einer neuen Collation der Izdubar-Legenden, 94-152. PAUL HAUPT, Nachträge und Berichtigungen, 313-329.
EB. NESTLE, Die Verba medial *ṣ* im Syrischen, 153-157. GEORG STEINDORF, Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen, 330-361.
PAUL HAUPT, Zur assyrischen Nominallehre, 158-184. PAUL HAUPT, Verzeichniss der Abkürzungen, 362-368.
FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Briefliteratur, 185-248.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Band XLIII., Heft II.):

- J. BARTH, Vergleichende Studien. III. Das Imperfect im Nordsemitischen, 177-191. FRANZ PRAETORIUS, Hamitische Bestandtheile im Aethiopischen, 317-326.
P. JENSEN, Zu den Nominalpräfixen *m(-a, -i, -u)* und *n(-a, -i, -u)* im Assyrischen, 192-205. TH. NOELDEKE, As-Sabti, der Sohn des Hārân ar-Rašid, 327-328.
W. BACHER, Elija Levita's wissenschaftliche Leistungen, 206-272. Anzeigen: Edward C. Sachau's Alberuni's India, angezeigt von A. Sprenger.—Kautzsch und Socin's Die Genesis, angezeigt von Adolph Kamphausen, 329 sqq.
K. VOLLERS, Aus der Imprimerie Catholique in Beirût von Anton Salhani, S. J., 313-316.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Band IX., Heft 2):

ALFRED RAHLFS, Beiträge zur Text-kritik der
Peschitta, 161-210.

GEORG WINTER, Die Liebe zu Gott im Alten
Testament, 211-245.

G. F. MOORE, Alttestamentliche Studien in
America, 246-302.

Babylonian and Oriental Record (Vol. III., Nos. 10, 11 and 12).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, Origin from Baby-
lonia and Elam of the Early Chinese Civil-
ization: a Summary of the Proofs, 215-223.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, Notes on Early Se-
mitic Names, 228-231, 232-234.

—— Notes on Pottery from Egypt, 259-264.

—— The Tel-el-Amarna Inscriptions, 286-288.

W. F. WARREN, The Gates of Sunrise in An-
cient Babylonian Art, 241-244.

Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. II., No. 1).

S. SCHECHTER, The Child in Jewish Literature,
1-24.

A. H. SAYCE, Polytheism in Primitive Israel,
25-36.

I. S. MEISELS, Don Isaac Abarbanel, 37-52.

L. M. SIMMONS, Letter of Consolation of Mai-
mun ben Joseph, 62-101.

Notes: Burning the Talmud in 1322, by Prof.
Graetz.—Jewish History in Arabian Histo-
rians, by Cyrus Adler.—Joseph Sambari
and Benjamin of Tudela, by I. Abrahams.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (Vol. XI., Part 8).

G. W. COLLINS, 'Ashtoreth and the 'Ashera,
291-303.

C. J. BALL, Inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar
the Great. Two Passages of Cylinder 85-4-
30, l. 320-325.

—— Remarks on the Nin-Mag' Inscription,
431-433.

A. H. SAYCE, The Cuneiform Tablets of Tel
el-Amarna, now preserved in the Boulaq
Museum, 326-413.

C. BEZOLD, Some Notes on the Nin-mag' In-
scription, 426-430.

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